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THE

TRIALS OF THE CHURCH;

OR, THE

PERSECUTORS OF RELIGION,

BY

REV. W. GLEESON,

RECTOR OF ST. ANTHONY'S CHURCH, CALIFORNIA,

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VOL. II.

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THE REV. MICHAEL MORIARTY,

ROCHDALE, ENGLAND,

THIS WORK

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

THE AUTHOR.

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CHAPTER I.

PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND FROM HENRY'S REVOLT DOWN TO THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM—THE KING MADE SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH—THE BISHOPS SUBSCRIBE TO THE ACT OF SUPREMACY—SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES—THE PLUNDER OBTAINED IN THIS WAY—HENRY DIES—THE STATE OF THE CHURCH UNDER EDWARD—MARY'S ACCESSION BRINGS PEACE TO RELIGION—ELIZABETH ASCENDS THE THRONE—THE REASONS THAT DETERMINED HER TO ADOPT THE REFORMED CREED—HER FIRST PARLIAMENT—SHE IS MADE HEAD OF THE CHURCH—TERRIBLE PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS—THE COUNTRY ALMOST DESTITUTE OF CLERGY—SEMINARIES FOUNDED ON THE CONTINENT TO SUPPLY PRIESTS—THE PRISONS FILLED WITH VICTIMS.

In this volume it is intended to place before the reader an account of the sufferings of the faithful from the middle of the sixteenth century down to the present. This will embrace the persecutions in Great Britain and Ireland, Abyssinia and the Corea, together with the actual conflict now being waged in Italy and Germany.

In 1534, Henry VIII. revolted against the authority of the vicar of Christ, and became, by law, the supreme head of the Catholic Church in England. From that moment a persecution was begun which for severity and duration finds hardly a parallel in the history of the Christian world. Even yet its baneful effects are severely felt, while of the proscriptive enactments framed in those days some are still in existence. The refusal of the sovereign pontiff to grant his majesty a divorce from his lawful wife, is generally regarded as the origin of Henry's schism and of the subsequent apostasy of the nation. In one sense, this is true. Had the divorce been possible and been granted in the

earlier stages of the controversy, the subsequent difficulties might have been avoided; but after matters had progressed to a considerable extent, it mattered but little whether Henry's demand was acceded to or not. For a determination had been formed of detaching the country from the immediate authority of Rome and of erecting within it a national church with the king as its spiritual and sovereign ruler.* Nothing could be required as more satisfactory evidence of this than the fact that while negotiations were pending between the sovereign pontiff and the king, measures were introduced into parliament having for their object the destruction of the Church's claims and prerogatives, and the establishment, instead, of the royal prerogatives. The measures were more of a schismatical than a heretical character. They prohibited appeals to Rome, transferred the confirmation of bishops elect from the sovereign pontiff to the king, and, finally, empowered the primate, the archbishop of Canterbury to grant all manner of licenses, dispensations and indulgences, etc., which previously were obtained from Rome. Later on in the autumn of the same year, 1534, a bolder and more radical measure was introduced into the parliament, and passed by the House. That was the act making the "king, his heirs and successors the supreme heads on earth of the Church of England, with full power to visit, reform, and correct all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempt, and enormities which by any manner of spiritual authority ought to be reformed or corrected."†

This extraordinary measure took the nation wholly by surprise: men were bewildered; they did not know what to think or how to interpret the novel prerogative. To calm the general prejudices the national pride was appealed to and the assertion put forth that the authority of Rome

* See Lingard, vol. v., p. 10.

† Lingard, vol. v., p. 17.

in the country was a flagrant violation of the rights of the people—a shameful usurpation of authority and, as such, to be vigorously resisted and manfully disavowed. At the same time the name of the "pope" was ordered to be stricken from all liturgical works, and instructions were given to those in authority to preach and teach that his majesty the king was the true and only head on earth of the English Catholic Church.

Against these monstrous pretensions, a few and only a few raised an indignant protest. The nation at large, however, by an act of weakness unparalleled in the history of christendom, accepted the erroneous pretensions, and subscribed to the king's supremacy. "It had been admitted," says Lingard, "by the nation at large; the members of every clerical and monastic body had confirmed it by their subscriptions, and its known opponents had atoned for their obstinacy by suffering the penalties of treason." Thus the country plunged at once into a state of heresy from which it has not yet emerged. But though the bishops and clergy subscribed to the act of supremacy, they were still unaware of the actual meaning affixed to that title and prerogative by the monarch. That his majesty meant to prohibit all positive and actual interference in the ecclesiastical government of the nation by the pope, was clear to all; but whether that implied that the temporal ruler was the source and origin of all spiritual power, jurisdiction and authority, was what they were unwilling to believe. The fact that a layman, Henry Cromwell, was made their superior, being appointed by Henry to the onerous post of "vicegerent, vicar-general and principle commissary, with all the spiritual authority belonging to the king as head of the Church," might have taught them at once their actual position. They were not, however, left very long in their doubt, for with the view of teaching them how completely they depended

on the crown, the newly-appointed vicegerent, on the ground of desiring to make a general visitation of the Church, suspended by an act of his will all the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the kingdom for an indefinite period. It is humiliating to reflect that the episcopate to an individual most shamefully submitted, and petitioned to be restored to their former authority. The degradation of the clergy was now complete. The Church, by this act, cast herself at the feet of a monster who readily robbed her of her possessions and of her spiritual existence. The craven submission of the clergy in subscribing the act of supremacy and acknowledging the king as the fountain of all spiritual jurisdiction and authority, emboldened Henry and his advisers, and urged them to even still greater excesses. Indeed the assumption of the king's spiritual supremacy was only one in a series of acts then seriously contemplated. The fact of the king being the supreme head of the Church, it naturally followed that the power to dissolve or retain in existence the ecclesiastical establishments of the country, depended entirely upon his will and good pleasure. There were, however, in the frame of mind in which he then was, more reasons for abolishing than maintaining the ecclesiastical institutions of the country. The principal of these were that the Church was rich, and the monarch greedy. The nobles, too, were eager for the change, for like their royal master they hoped to become sharers in the spoils. As, however, an appearance of fairness had to be observed, and that a pretext for accomplishing the iniquitous work might be obtained, a commission was appointed by his majesty for a general visitation of the monasteries with the view of determining whether they were worthy of being retained or ought to be suppressed. The result of the commission was from the outset a secret to none, for it was not in reality with the view of reforming the lax and correcting abuses

that the visitation was enjoined, but solely with the view of blinding the public and obtaining a plea however absurd, for carrying into effect the object contemplated. Indeed the very men appointed for the work and the promises they previously made, furnished the most satisfactory assurance of this. For those who constituted the commission, instead of being men of high social position and of grave, unblemished characters and morals, were in reality merely "clerical adventurers of very equivocal character," while as regarded the duties of their office they had pledged themselves beforehand to employ every means in their power for the dissolution of the establishments. The report made by these agents of government was that in the lesser monastic establishments sloth and immorality prevailed amongst the members and that, therefore, these houses ought to be suppressed. A reason for not including in the general list the greater as well as the lesser monastic establishments, is to be found in the fact that the abbots and priors of the former had seats in the legislature and would naturally, if there individual interests were attacked, defend themselves with vigor and energy. The course adopted by government was indeed judicious and politic. A bill was accordingly introduced into the parliament and passed by both branches of the legislature, handing over to the king and his heirs all the monastic establishments of a less annual rental than £200 sterling. By this sweeping measure nearly 300 monasteries were placed at the king's disposal, and it was anticipated that by their sale the sum of a hundred thousand pounds could be realized in hand, together with thirty or more thousands in the shape of annual rental. All were not immediately dissolved, for by the same act, whereby they were vested in the crown, his majesty was empowered to re-found them according to his good pleasure. The clause empowering the king

to re-found them may have been framed without any particular object or ulterior motive on the part of the legislature; but whether or not, it was turned by his majesty to most profitable account. For according to the petitions of a number of the proscribed, backed by the payment of considerable sums, as many as one hundred of the establishments were exempted by the king from immediate suppression. "The monks of each community," says Lingard, "flattered themselves with the expectation of escaping the general shipwreck, and sought by presents and annuities to secure the protection of the minister and the visitors." This was most agreeable to Henry, especially as he was at the same time in receipt of considerable sums from the laity, who eagerly coveted the monastic estates and petitioned his majesty for their possession.

The fate of the religious who were turned adrift, was in many instances exceedingly severe. None but the priors were entitled to a pension. The inmates whose age was over four and twenty years, were either dispersed among the greater monasteries or provided with some employment by Cranmer, while those whose age was less than four and twenty were presently turned adrift upon the world, and required to provide as best they could for their own subsistence. Still harder and more inhuman was the lot of the female religious, who, in every instance, regardless of age, were turned out of their respective establishments, stripped of all their earthly possessions, and provided by government, as if in mockery of their deplorable condition, with nothing but a single gown!

The plunder thus obtained appeased for a time the rapacious monarch; but the sword of destruction was still hanging over the heads of the other unfortunate establishments. Hence, two years later when he wanted money again, the king's conscience reproached him concerning the irregularity

and immorality of the larger monastic establishments. As in the first instance, commissioners were appointed who, on one pretense or another, reported a condition of affairs in accordance with the king's desires. A bill was accordingly passed, empowering the king to proceed with the sale of all the monastic establishments of the country. While such measures were being enacted, the most unaccountable apathy seems to have seized upon the religious of the nation; for from no quarter was any protest or remonstrance sent to the legislature against the unjust proceedings, while at the same time of the thirty abbots and priors then sitting in parliament, not one opened his mouth in defense of religion!*

It was now 1540, and though only six years had elapsed since the first inroad was made upon the liberties of the Church, all the monastic establishments of the country were by this time torn from their legitimate owners, the inmates were scattered broadcast on society—the lands they formerly owned and which were mainly employed for relieving the wants of the needy and supplying the necessities of religion, being now handed over to greedy and unscrupulous favorites or disposed of to minister to the unlawful desires of the king, while the real owners themselves were necessitated to throw themselves on the charity of the faithful at large. The annual rental of all the suppressed establishments amounted in the aggregate to about £140,000 sterling!

While the king was thus robbing the Church of her possessions, he was at the same time slaying every one who dared to dispute his royal pretensions. Year by year the blood of the best and the noblest in the land was shed by this monster in human form. "Each succeeding year of his reign," says the author last quoted, "was stained with the blood of many, often of noble and innocent victims." But this reign of terror at last drew to an end. Henry died on the

* Lingard, vol. 5, p. 47.

28th of January, 1547, leaving, by will, the crown to his son Edward, then a boy in his tenth year. Till the young prince should reach his majority, a council of sixteen was appointed to govern the nation. It was composed of men who for lack of principle and greedy, unscrupulous designs, differed in nothing from those who had plundered religion in the preceding reign. The principal part of the wealth of the Church had, indeed, already been appropriated and had found its way into the royal exchequer. The monasteries greater and lesser were suppressed; their valuables taken possession of in his majesty's name; and their extensive estates either sold for the benefit of the crown or bestowed, in recognition of services rendered, upon favorites or flatterers. A considerable amount, however, of Church property still remained. The country was yet Catholic. The altars were still standing and the mass was celebrated. No sacrilegious hand had till then plundered the parochial churches, oratories and chapels. And as these contained many valuable objects of gold and silver—the religious bequests of the piety of ages—the covetous and unscrupulous executors of the late king's will found herein an ample field for the exercise of their greed and thirst for plunder. As, however, in the case of Henry, a plea was needed for suppressing the various monasteries and appropriating their valuables and estates, so also in this instance a pretext had to be given for plundering and appropriating the valuables of the cathedrals, parochial churches and private oratories. None but the one assigned could have fully and satisfactorily met the difficulty. It was that the Catholic religion was false, and, of course such being the case, no altars were needed. It mattered not that the men who made this declaration had the word Catholic on their lips, had the young king crowned as a Catholic, and had sworn to uphold the Catholic faith!

Their reason, however, was as good as that assigned in the previous reign for the suppression of the monasteries. It served its purpose just as well, and that was all its formulators required. Thus, at one fell swoop all the parochial churches in England were plundered by these unscrupulous authorities, of all the rich and valuable articles that the piety of centuries had consecrated to the worship of God. Even the very vestments employed in the celebration of the divine mysteries did not escape their rapacity. Thus did it fare with Catholic England during the short reign of Edward. The plunderers had it all their own way, they were masters of the situation, and freely indeed did they use the time and authority at their command to advance their interests and enrich themselves. But this unhappy state of affairs was only as it were momentary. It was the storm-cloud of adversity that burst upon the land, to be followed by the tranquillity and sunshine of order and liberty. Hence upon the accession of Mary, the hand of the despoiler was stayed, and religion was again partially restored to its former condition in the country. The mass was once more celebrated in public, the sacraments were administered as before, and the divine word preached to the faithful in all its integrity. Another change, however, was near at hand, for upon the accession of Elizabeth all was once more undone. The Protestant creed was then formally established, and a system of persecution inaugurated, which hardly finds a parallel in the history of the world. Elizabeth's religious convictions upon coming to the throne were matters of grave suspicion and doubt. She was, indeed, ostensibly a Catholic, having conformed to the national creed during the reign of her sister. But there were those who were ready to believe that her conversion was insincere, that she had abandoned her religion only from motives of policy,

and that in reality she was a Protestant at heart. However that may be, the light in which the sovereign pontiff found himself necessitated to view her pretensions to the crown, determined her as to the religion she would adopt. That was the Protestant and not the Catholic faith, for it having been notified to the powers that she had succeeded by hereditary right to the throne of England, the sovereign pontiff replied that he could not recognize the right of an illegitimate person to the detriment of the legitimate claimaint. This was enough to determine Elizabeth as to the creed she would adopt, and she accordingly discarded a religion that would proclaim her a bastard. Other motives there were to incline her to this, but the one assigned was enough. She did not, however, immediately proclaim her intentions. She continued as before ostensibly a Catholic, that is she assisted at the holy sacrifice of the mass, communicated under one kind, and in all things conformed to the Catholic ritual. The first intimation of her unsoundness of faith was an order to the bishop of Carlisle not to elevate the sacred host in her presence. Other intimations of an equally conclusive character were given shortly after, such as the imprisonment of the bishop of Winchester, for his funeral oration at the obsequies of the late queen, the arraignment of Bonner of London, etc. But what above all things showed the people how her majesty felt on the subject of religion, was the public proclamation then issued in the name of the sovereign, forbidding the clergy to preach any doctrine until the same had been determined by parliament. Thus it was evident that she meant to interfere in matters purely religious. The bishops, accordingly, took the alarm and came to the determination not to officiate at the coronation of one who would ignore their spiritual authority. Their refusal became the cause of serious embarrassment, for

such was the importance attached to the rite of coronation at that time, that it was feared it would not be regarded as valid unless performed by a bishop of the established religion. Nothing, consequently, remained to the queen but to submit to the necessity of the situation, and to promise to take the customary oath. But not even then would the bishops agree to perform the service. At length, however, one of their number, the bishop of Carlisle, separated from the general body and solemnly crowned her majesty. The hypocrisy and dissimulation of the queen in thus conforming to the Catholic ritual and swearing to uphold the Catholic faith, obtained for her, indeed, the object of her ambition, but at the terrible cost of a perjured conscience. Nor was this the only time she employed similar means to avoid embarrassment. For when urged by Mary in her last moments, to make a frank avowal of her real intentions regarding religion, Elizabeth prayed "that the earth might open and swallow her down, if she were not a true Roman Catholic." Thus this crafty woman, blinded and mislead those of whose favor and interest she stood in need for the time being. Now, however, that she was firmly seated on the throne, she boldly laid aside the mask and openly proclaimed herself a Protestant. On the 25th of January, 1559, she opened her first parliament, and its chief attention was directed to the subject of religion. The statutes passed in favor of the Church during the reign of Mary, were repealed, and those enacted under Henry and Edward were revived. The book of common prayer took the place of the mass and was ordered to be used by all the clergy of the nation; the spiritual authority of the sovereign pontiff was abolished, and in the person of the sovereign was seated the fountain of all ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction. Penalties were at the same time enacted against all assertion of pontifical authority, and

finally, all clergymen, magistrates and officers of the state were called upon, under pain of deprivation and incapacity of holding their respective positions, to take an oath of allegiance declaring her majesty the "supreme governor in all ecclesiastical and spiritual things." A system of persecution of the Catholic faith was thus fairly begun, which for generations dishonored the English nation.

The queen being thus made supreme head of the Church, the bishops were called upon to acknowledge her pretensions and to subscribe to the oath of supremacy. They unanimously refused, and then it devolved upon her majesty to supply their places by more compliant subjects. This she found no difficulty in doing, by virtue of the exercise of the supreme power with which she was now vested by parliament, and accordingly placed in the room of the Catholic bishops religious adventurers from Switzerland and Germany, as well as some of her own subjects who during the preceding reign had distinguished themselves by their opposition to the ancient faith. The newly-appointed prelates now set themselves to work to obtain a recognition of their royal mistress' pretensions. The oath of supremacy was administered to the entire clerical body. Many refused it, and thereby sacrificed their position and means of existence, to the dictates of conscience. Many, however, on the other hand, had the weakness and temerity to subscribe it, but not in such numbers as to meet the requirements of the times. Hence licensed laymen were appointed in many instances to supply the places of the regular clergy and to perform the church service, with the exception of the administration of the sacrament. Upwards of two years thus passed and, though no position could be obtained in Church or state without the acceptance of the oath of supremacy, the great bulk of the nation was yet Catholic. Apostasy was the exception, and not

the rule. Something more was consequently needed to tear the nation from its allegiance to the principles of divine truth. Accordingly, in 1562, Elizabeth's second parliament passed a law making the oath of supremacy obligatory on all under the pain of *præmunire* for the first refusal and death for the second. The kingdom was thereby brought face to face with a contest the real nature of which it would be difficult to adequately realize "No tongue, no pen," says Mr. Cobbett, "is adequate to the task." Fines, imprisonments, torture, and death were had recourse to compel the people to abandon the ancient faith. The most strenuous and unremitting efforts of parliament were directed to this end. Statutes were enacted, whereby it was a crime punishable with death for a priest to enter the country, death to perform any of the functions of his sacred office; death to confess to him, and death even to harbor him. And not only were the Catholics fined, imprisoned and tortured for not subscribing to what their conscience taught them was false, viz., the oath of supremacy; but they were loaded and literally crushed to the earth with the intolerable burden of fines levied indiscriminately upon all who refused attending at the new-formed worship. The amount realized in this way was something enormous as hundreds of thousands refused to comply with the iniquitous demand. The consequence in many instances was financial ruin and beggary. Many to save themselves abandoned the country entirely, and retired to the continent, while of those who remained some attended occasionally at the newly-established worship, on the ground that they were only discharging a civil obligation, but the greater number, disapproving entirely of so unworthy an evasion, were compelled to pass their lives in constant dread and alarm. And to what extent they had reason to fear, the reader will be able to form an idea from the following.

"No Catholic or reputed Catholic had a moment's security or peace," says the author of the Protestant Reformation: "at all hours, but generally in the night time, the ruffians entered the house by breaking it open: rushed in different divisions into the house: broke open closets, chests, and drawers: rummaged beds and pockets. In short, searched every place and thing for priests, books, crosses, vestments, or any person or thing appertaining to the Catholic worship. In order to pay the fines, gentlemen were compelled to sell their estates, piece by piece. When they were in arrear, the tyrant was by law authorized to seize all their personal property and two thirds of their real estate, every six months: and they were in some cases suffered, as a great indulgence, to pay an annual composition for the liberty of abstaining from what they deemed apostasy and blasphemy..... The Catholic gentleman's own house afforded him no security: the indiscretion of children or friends, the malice of enemies, the dishonesty or revenge of tenants or servants, the hasty conclusions of false suspicion, the deadly wickedness of those ready to commit perjury for gain sake, the rapacity and corruption of constables, sheriffs and magistrates, the virulent prejudice of fanaticism; to every passion hostile to justice, happiness and peace; to every evil against which it is the object of just laws to protect a man, the conscientious Catholic gentleman lived constantly exposed; and that too in that land which had become renowned throughout the world by those deeds of valor and those laws of freedom which had been performed and framed by his Catholic ancestors."* During a period of twenty years, this deplorable state of affairs continued, to the ruin and destruction of the Catholic body all over the land. Meantime, the penal enactments were carried out with a vigor and relentlessness unparalleled

* Cobbet, p. 182.

in the history of any other persecuting power. And to such practical effect, that by the end of that date they seemed to have almost achieved the object for which they were framed. Nearly all the old clergy were then either dead or extirpated. The few that remained were either sure to be captured, or to become almost useless through infirmity or years within a very limited time, It was plain then, that unless steps were immediately taken to preserve the religion, it would become wholly extinct in that land But it was not in the designs of divine providence that the faith preached by Augustin should be exterminated. To the Rev Wm. Allen of Lancashire is due the honor and merit of saving the nation from so deplorable a consequence. Aided by several noblemen and friends, Allen set himself to work, and within a very brief period obtained funds sufficient to establish a seminary at Douay in Flanders, for furnishing priests to the English mission. Commencing with a class roll of six, he continued adding to his number until he had as many as one hundred and fifty, many of them men of high culture from the English universities, and all resolved upon risking their lives in keeping alive the faith of their forefathers in the land of their birth. It was in vain that Elizabeth had issued edicts making it a crime punishable with death for any Catholic priest to land in the country. It was in vain that she attached the same penalty to the exercise of any priestly function. These heroic champions of the faith of Christ despised such penal enactments, and under the garb of laymen found a ready entrance into the kingdom. The persecuting efforts of the authorities were thus neutralized by the noble and chivalrous zeal of a devoted priest. Several worthy Levites, being thus prepared for the work of the ministry, found their way back into England and ministered in private and by stealth to the terrified and scat-

tered Catholics. Many of these devoted men were captured in the discharge of their religious obligations, and suffered the penalty attaching to their boldness. Many, on the other hand, by watchfulness and precaution, eluded the emissaries of government and led for years a wandering precarious existence, attended with all manner of hardships, trials, dangers, romance and hair-breath escapes.

Shortly after the establishment of the Douay Seminary, another was opened for a like purpose in Rome, by his holiness Gregory XIII. But what especially alarmed and angered the authorities at this date, was the enlistment of Jesuit Fathers in the same noble cause, two of their body, Fathers Persons and Campion having then entered the country. Nothing that the Catholics could do, could have excited the Protestants more alarmingly than this. In the presence of these holy and devoted men, the queen and her government saw all manner of evil to the nation. They had surely come to oppose her majesty, and to throw the country into revolution. Parliament accordingly met and passed a series of enactments that would have disgraced the statute book of a Nero or a Diocletian. The prisons, in consequence, were filled to overflowing with their victims; the instruments of torture, that is the rack and the scavenger's daughter, etc., were freely employed, and a general terrorism exercised by the irresponsible officers of the law, of which it would be impossible to convey an accurate idea. No man was safe even in the retirement of his own dwelling, for the privacy of his abode was liable at any moment to be invaded by an armed band, who, in the name of the law and by the authority of the crown, acknowledged no legal obstruction; but rushed incontinently into every dwelling wherever they pleased, searching and scrutinizing every corner and drawer in quest of some object of Catholic worship. "At a signal given," says Lingard,

"the doors were burst open; and the pursuivants in separate divisions hastened to the different apartments, examined the beds, tore the tapestry and wainscot from the walls, forced open chests, drawers and coffers, and made every search which their ingenuity could suggest, to discover either a priest or books, chalices and vestments, appropriated to the Catholic worship." *

The government was not yet satisfied with what it had done for the destruction of the Catholic faith. It had, indeed, partially succeeded in its efforts. The prisons were filled with its victims, the scaffold ran red with the blood of many of the noblest in the land, the clergy were all but extirpated, and a terrorism and alarm prevailed to such an extent as to make men afraid to pronounce even the word Catholic. With all that, the seed of Catholic doctrine was still in the land. A quarter of a century of untiring efforts on the part of the rulers of the nation, as described, failed to completely eradicate it out of the country. What under such circumstances should not reason have dictated? Was it not to recognize the power of conscience and to desist from an undertaking which was so plainly inhuman, brutal and barbarous? But Elizabeth had taken a stand; she had resolved upon exterminating the Catholic faith from the whole of the country. Hence the new penal enactments framed at this date, A. D. 1584, whereby every Catholic priest was commanded under the penalty of high treason to quit the kingdom within the space of forty days, the penalty of felony being adjudged against all who aided or sheltered the clergy in remaining in the nation. By other provisions of this enactment, those who were cognizant of the presence of a clergyman, were bound under the penalty of being fined and imprisoned according to the queen's pleasure, to make known the same within a period of twelve

* Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. vi, p. 166.

days, while in like manner it was commanded that all students studying abroad for the sacred ministry were to return within the period of six months or to be regarded as traitors. Even parents sending their children, without permission from the proper authorities, to foreign lands for education, were thereby to forfeit for every such offense one hundred pounds, the children so educated being rendered by the fact incapable of inheriting the property of their parents. Thus did that cruel and tyrannical monarch continue till the end of her reign to trifle with the lives and liberties of her Catholic subjects. To such an extent were the common gaols of the country filled with the Catholics, that a remonstrance was made by the tax-payers on account of the expenses in maintaining such numbers. The incarcerated were accordingly ordered to be discharged at the discretion of the magistrates; but not before being mutilated, some having their ears bored through with red-hot irons, others being cruelly whipped, and all, who were unable to pay twenty marks a year, being ordered under the penalty of felony to quit the kingdom within the space of three months from the date of their dismissal. Such abominable legislation, which made it felony for a man to live in the land of his birth and to worship the Almighty according to the dictates of his conscience, will ever reflect dishonor upon the age in which it was made and upon the persons by whom it was framed.

CHAPTER II.

JAMES I. ASCENDS THE THRONE—HIS CHARACTER—HE ENFORCES THE PENAL ENACTMENTS—THE CATHOLICS HARASSED IN A THOUSAND WAYS BY FINES, EXTORTIONS, ETC.—THE GUNPOWDER PLOT—TERRIBLE PENAL ENACTMENTS—CHARLES I. SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE—HE DIFFERED LITTLE FROM HIS BROTHER—CHARLES BEHEADED—THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON—THE CRIME ATTRIBUTED TO THE CATHOLICS—THEY ARE OPPRESSED AND PERSECUTED IN CONSEQUENCE—TITUS OATES' PLOT—ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE THE HEIR-APPARENT FROM THE THRONE BECAUSE OF BEING A CATHOLIC.

On the death of Elizabeth, in 1603, the son of Mary Stewart, James VI. of Scotland ascended the English throne under the title of James I. As an apostate, the Catholics had nothing to hope from his accession: if they indulged any such hope, they were quickly undeceived. In religion, the new monarch was as inconsistent as he was indifferent in matters of state. In Scotland, he was a Presbyterian, and in England an Anglican; his faith was in keeping with his interests. Having at the commencement of his reign formed, with the aid of his clergy and parliament, a code of ecclesiastical laws, some of the provisions of which were destructive of the religious liberty of the dissenters, his majesty was accused by the puritans of a leaning to "popery." To repel the accusation he gave the best proof that could desired. He issued, in the first instance, a proclamation consigning to banishment the Catholic clergy, and ordered at the same time the enforcement of the laws made in the preceding reign against the Catholic faith. The application of these laws was the source of considerable revenue to the royal exchequer, especially as

the fines for non-attendance at the Protestant worship had been suffered to remain for a long time in abeyance and were now required to be discharged in full. The result to many of the Catholics was ruinous. Nor was there any hope of escaping the exactions, for the interests of those employed in the work, made it important to them to discover the recusants. According to the provisions of the newly-made code the officers of justice were empowered to make domiciliary visits whenever they pleased, either by day or by night, in search of their victims, and to such an extent was this privilege carried, that the peaceful inhabitants were subject to the most painful and intolerable annoyance. No hour or place was too sacred to shield the faithful from those vexatious, harassing visits of the low and brutal minions of the law. In the advanced hours of night, when all had retired to rest, they would frequently demand admittance, and if not immediately attended to, would force open the doors, and insult and maltreat the inhabitants. The object on these occasions being plunder rather than the execution of law, these unscrupulous agents of an unscrupulous monarch made it their business to appropriate whatever their avarice or interest led them to covet, while at the same time the greatest indignity was offered to the inmates, respectable females being obliged not unfrequently to rise from their beds and submit to a personal search lest they might have concealed on their person some object of Catholic worship. To be suspected was to be condemned, and in this manner numbers were deprived of their liberty and cast into dungeons. Eleven of the clergy were arrested at this juncture, and condemned to death. Of these, six were executed, the sentence of the other five being commuted to banishment for life at the intercession of the courts of France and Spain. A Catholic gentleman named Pound, having had the courage

to protest against the illegality of the sentence in the case of one of the convicted, was condemned to have his ears cut off, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned for life, unless he revealed the names of those who urged him to his proceeding. After remaining some time in the Tower, Pound was liberated at the instance of the ambasadors of France and Venice, but not before he had been made to endure the degrading punishment of remaining a whole day in the pillory. A systematic net-work of persecution was now spread over the entire kingdom. The anglican clergy were commanded under the severest ecclesiastical penalties to denounce the refractory members, while the local civil authorities were required to meet semi-quarterly for the trial of such cases. The punishments inflicted on these occasions, exceeded everything that had preceded them in the past. The numerous, repeated fines and exactions demanded by this court, wholly crushed the middle and lower classes and reduced them to penury. In the county of Hereford alone, four hundred and nine families were reduced to beggary in this way. But this was not enough for the enemies of religion and the plunderers of inoffending Catholics. As long as any of the nobility retained their possessions, they were resolved not to rest. As the law, however, did not give discretionary powers, it was necessary to proceed by a different method in order to attain the object in view. By the order of the chancellor the bishops were commanded to excommunicate the principal Catholics. A plea would be thus obtained for incriminating the wealthy and for confiscating their estates. The bishops were equal to the emergency; they did as commanded. Thus harassed and driven to despair by the most cruel and arbitrary exactions, it is not to be wondered at that some ardent and fiery spirits should have recourse to the wildest and most des-

perate measures for relieving themselves from so crushing a tyrrany. Hence the famous gunpowder plot, which originated in the minds of a few and was intended to rid the country of a tyrant whose acts were a dishonor to the age and land in which he lived. The miscarriage of, this dreadful design aroused all the fury, fanaticism and vengeance of the parliament and the country. The only question, then, was how the Catholics in general could be disposed of, for it was universally accepted that if all were not cognizant of the plot, at least all were in sympathy with the conspirators and endorsed their proceedings. In this popular commotion to allay a little the public excitement, and acquire for the Catholics even a trifling immunity from suffering, Henry IV. of France employed his good offices with the English monarch, and urged upon his majesty the advantages of adopting a milder course towards his Catholic subjects. James was inclined to follow this advice and expressed himself to that effect to his parliament; but that body, instead of lightening the burden of the Catholics, only added considerably thereto. To the existing disabilities, parliament added seventy new enactments, depriving the faithful of the last shred of civil and religious liberty. By these enactments, the Catholics were prohibited appearing at court or residing nearer than ten miles of the city limits. They may not under any circumstances go farther than five miles from their respective abodes, without a special permission. They were declared incapable of attaining to or exercising any of the liberal professions. Unless married by a Protestant minister, the property of the married couple was liable to be confiscated, while, in like manner, unless the children were baptized within a month after their birth by a like functionary, the parents subjected themselves to a fine of two thousand francs. The iniquitous enactments pursued them

even after death and required their bodies to be interred in a Protestant cemetery, under the penalty of one pound for every corpse. No child could be sent out of the country, for the purpose of education, except at the cost of being deprived of all his inheritance, which was to pass to his nearest Protestant kin. All who refused to assist at the Protestant worship, were regarded as in the category of the excommunicated and liable, accordingly, to all the pains and penalties arising therefrom. In fine, whoever received or entertained a Catholic, or retained such in his service, was liable to a fine of ten pounds a month for each such offense.

The publication of this horrible code aroused the indignation of all the faithful throughout the empire. It evoked an expression of reprobation in every Catholic country of Europe. Numbers seeing themselves in the impossibility of practising their religion, abandoned their native land and went into voluntary exile. Others while unwilling to abandon either faith or fatherland, sought a redress of their grievances by having recourse to the sovereign in person, praying him to secure for them such liberty as would be consistent with their religious professions. In acting thus, they might have known what would follow. The king was the creature of his parliament, and the latter was the avowed enemy of all that was Catholic. Not only did nothing come of the petition, but two of the leaders were cast into prison. The obstinacy of the Catholics in adhering to their faith, and refusing the oath of allegiance, which at this juncture was offered them, was in a pecuniary sense of great advantage to the king. It yielded him an annual revenue of between thirty and forty thousand pounds sterling. Nor were the grievances of the Catholics confined merely to the execution of the statutes above mentioned. The abuses and extortions practised by the

unscrupulous agents of the law, in the execution of their irresponsible duties, added not inconsiderably to their sufferings. Indeed so glaring and monstrous were the exactions and injustices perpetrated, that parliament with all its antipathy and hatred for the Catholic community, promised at length to interpose. But its sympathy was only in words: it was not real, as was immediately made evident by a proclamation which appeared at this juncture, commanding the Catholic clergy to retire from the kingdom within a certain date. The officers of the crown were commanded to see that this resolution was carried into effect. Nor was this enough to satisfy the ultra radical party, for while the agents of government were carrying into effect the resolutions of parliament, regarding the expatriation of the clergy from their native land, the same parties that brought forward and effected the passage of that law were now planning a more extensive and ruinous measure. That was the dismissal from every office or post of honor, however humble, of every Catholic or suspected-to-be Catholic in the kingdom. This however did not meet with the approval of the Lords and failed to be carried into effect. Thus the Catholics continued to be persecuted through the whole of James' reign, and though the monarch's rule was not as bloody as others, it was no less vexatious and ruinous in a temporal sense. The prisons were constantly filled, the rightful owners were unlawfully deprived of their inheritances, the clergy driven from the country, and every thing done that hatred and antipathy to the Catholic faith could suggest. James was succeeded in 1625 by his son Charles I. The latter differed but little if any from his father, in disposition and government. 'Though in no way favorable to the Catholics, he was accused by the puritanical element of leaning to Catholicism. It would be difficult to say in what that leaning consisted, except it were in the

absence of that blind and fanatical hatred which characterized the parliament of his father's reign. Ill or well-founded, however, Charles found it inconvenient to have such an opinion accepted regarding him, and he delayed not to give it the earliest and most satisfactory denial. Amongst his first measures in this direction, was the exclusion of all Catholics from the chapel royal of the queen and the offer of a £100 sterling for the capture of Bishop Smith then known to be in the country. To these proofs of his Protestant orthodoxy, he added others of a kindred nature, amongst which was his reiterated command to the executive to carry into effect the laws framed against the Catholics during the reign of his predecessors. Numbers were accordingly arrested and cast into prison several of whom perished in these dungeons, while others more fortunate escaped with their lives, their imprisonment being commuted to banishment for life from the kingdom. Others again were more fortunate still, obtaining their freedom on a promise to appear whenever required.

Charles I. was beheaded in 1649. His death was followed by the abolition of royalty and of the house of peers. This was the work of the puritanical element of the country, and not of the nation at large. The late king's son, who was afterwards recognized as Charles II., had still a considerable number of abettors. His cause was generally espoused by the Scotch and the Catholics of Ireland. More to favor his own interests than from any higher principle, the pretender agreed to recognize certain of the Catholic claims. It was stipulated that the Catholic worship should be free, and that the penal enactments should be abolished.

Meantime, Charles repaired to Scotland and put himself at the head of affairs. But here he soon learned that the country was for him, only on condition of his subscribing to

concessions directly opposed to those he had already agreed to in behalf of the Irish. A sense of honor and justice should have immediately caused him to reject the Scottish demand; but he had neither the one nor the other. It was all self and ambition in his case. Hence he promised his Scottish friends not only to abridge the liberties of the Irish Catholics, but to wholly interdict their worship and to extirpate their religion. As soon as this avowal of the king's intention became known, the Catholics of Ireland saw how vain were the hopes they had entertained. Some, however, adhered to the royal cause; but the sympathy of the people as a nation was alienated from the inconstant pretender, and the parliamentary forces in consequence, found little opposition in reducing the country to submission. The Catholics still continued to suffer as during the reign of the late monarch.

In 1650 an act was passed granting the same reward for the discovery of a priest as for the apprehension of a highwayman. By this means a considerable number of the clergy were arrested and condemned to death, but, except in the case of the chaplain of the marquis of Winchester, the sentence was not carried into effect in all its rigor. This by no means implies that the enactments against the Catholics in general were allowed to remain in abeyance. On the contrary they were executed with the most unrelenting severity, numbers being reduced to beggary by reason of the fines imposed upon them.

At length the Catholics were led to look forward with hope for a change. Cromwell died in 1658, and Charles mounted the throne of his ancestors. It is known to the reader, how when there was a chance of his arriving at power, he had shamefully violated the pledge he made to the Irish; yet, however profligate in his general principles, he had a sentiment of humanity which inclined him to leniency towards the Catholic body. Their adherence to his

cause in its most desperate moments, urged him to this, and furnished the Catholics with the hope of obtaining some clemency at his hands. Encouraged thereby they presented a petition on the 8th of June, 1661, to the house of Lords complaining of the injustice of requiring them to take the oath of allegiance. The petition was received with indifference and, though it was made the subject of debate, the House came to the conclusion that nothing in the formulary ought to be changed. It was granted, however, to one of the Catholic body, Col. Tuke, to appear before the bar of the House in defense of the Catholic claims. The line of argument adopted by Tuke was, the binding force of the concessions made by the king in the Declaration of Breda, and the misconception regarding the pope's spiritual and temporal supremacy. The doctrine of the pontiff's temporal authority being only an opinion and at best problematical, the petitioners did not feel themselves bound thereby, nor did they regard it in any sense as an impediment to the allegiance they owed to their sovereign. This modified somewhat the stern severity of the authorities, and induced them to consent to the repeal of the statutes of high-treason, felony and *præmunire*, then in force against the Catholic clergy, their defenders, and those who maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome. Important as these concessions were, they only partly removed the grievances of which the petitioners complained. The statutes of fines and confiscations for the offense of recusancy were still left in force, and even the repeal of the act against the existence of the clergy in the country was very much lessened and deprived of its actual worth by a clause excepting the members of the Society of Jesus. The exception thus made by government became the cause of considerable embarrasment to the Catholic body. Some were of opinion that the concessions however limited, ought

to be accepted, while others on the contrary believed that by doing so they would be bringing odium on themselves and fixing a stigma on their cause by agreeing to the proscription of a society that was the first and noblest in the Church. In the face of these difficulties the committee charged with the interests of the Catholic body was dissolved and the matter remained in abeyance.

At this juncture there happened an accidental occurrence which was turned by the malevolent to the great detriment of the Catholics. On the night of the 2nd of September 1666, a fire broke out in London which left two thirds of the city in ashes. Although the most searching enquiries into the origin of the calamity failed to trace it to any one, the Protestant public generally attributed it to the "papists." The Catholics, in the estimation of their enemies, were capable of any atrocity however enormous. The case was another instance of the Roman pagans' persistent determination of fixing the burning of their capital on the inoffending Christians. That a feeling of indignation and a general outcry should be raised against the Catholic body on the propagation of this horrible calumny, was only to be expected, for men are led more by passion and prejudice than by reason and judgment. But that the assertion should be persisted in, that the calumny should be obstinately sought to be fixed on the Catholics, after the excitement of the moment had ceased and men had time to reflect on the proceeding, betrays a malevolence of purpose and a bigotry of mind unparalleled in the annals of the world. It is, however, something to know that reason eventually triumphed, that posterity became ashamed of the monument erected to perpetuate so glaring a false-hood and that the traveller is now spared the humiliation of witnessing so flagrant a libel which "Like a tall bully lifts its head and lies."

In such a moment, it is not difficult to see what a pressure could be brought to bear on the king to induce him to pronounce against the Catholics. His very hesitation and reluctance was formulated into a crime against him, and he was speedily made to understand that the country and government were entirely opposed to him. For though the usual budget was voted by parliament at that time, it was required of the king to grant certain concessions before any of the moneys could be employed. To give greater prominence to their opposition to the Catholic body, a committee was formed to enquire into the "insolence and progress of papistry in the country." And though the information obtained was wholly at variance with reason and truth, the king had yet the weakness and timidity to yield to the demands made upon him, and in a royal proclamation ordered the clergy to be banished the kingdom and the oath of allegiance to be administered to all in the employ of the state, even when only suspected of Catholicism. The military in case of a refusal were to be dismissed the service. But at the very moment that these penal enactments were being enforced against the Catholics, the dissenters of the kingdom were favored with important concessions. These were the right of erecting their places of worship and of appointing and maintaining their pastors, concessions which were wholly denied to the Catholics, a clause in the act going to say that except in the houses of private individuals, the Catholics should not assemble for purposes of worship. The intolerance of the country was not even yet entirely appeased. In 1671, a cry was raised that the clergy were increasing and that the laity were frequenting the chapels of the foreign ambassadors. This had the desired effect. The parliament took the matter in hand and, in an address to the throne, unqualifiedly declared that

the royal prerogatives were not sufficient for the suspension or repeal of the penal enactments, but that the sanction and approval of parliament was needed. The king demurred to the allegation and denied the power of the legislature to limit his authority in matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature. Parliament, on its part, was determined not to abandon its privileges, a resolve which brought the king to his senses and caused him to assure the two branches of the legislature that what he had done in the suspension of the laws he would see should not have any practical result. This was an important victory for parliament; it was placing it above the king and was so understood by the community, as was evidenced by the rejoicings that followed. The king's humiliation was not yet complete. It was not enough for the fanatics to prevent the exercise of the royal prerogative in favor of the Catholics, but they would crush that entire body under the weight of the heaviest accusations. They sought even to divert the succession, because of the king's brother being a Catholic. To effect this, however, plausible charges of a weighty nature were needed; nor was the country kept long in suspense expecting the same. Titus Oates, an uscrupulous man, undertook to provide the needed crime. How far he intended proceeding at first, is not very clear: circumstances and the position in which he placed himself developed his charges. His first step in incriminating the Catholics was an application to a pamphleteer named Tonge with the view of keeping the public informed of the insidious aim and attempt of the Catholics, especially the Jesuits. Tonge was either an alarmist or a hypocrite. A more favorable protector Oates could not readily find. It was agreed that in order to establish a case, it would be necessary to obtain an entrance into the counsels of the Catholics. To this end, Oates was to play the role of a con-

vert. This succeeded in every way according to his wishes, for after being received into the Church and feigning a disposition for the ecclesiastical state, he obtained a place amongst the Jesuits of Valladolid. Here he might have completed his role and have obtained sufficient material in names and dates whereon to rest a charge; but his character becoming known, he was expelled from the institute on the 30th of October, 1677, five months after his reception. At the suggestion of his friend and patron, Tonge, he still continued his course and by a show of repentance obtained admission into St. Omer, two and a half years after he had been expelled from Valladolid. Here, too, his true character, despite his adroitness and hypocrisy, did not long remain unknown to the Fathers, and he was expelled a second time. He had, however, obtained sufficient information during his stay wherewith to construct a charge and build up a case. About this time the triennial assembly of the Jesuit Fathers was to take place for the English province. It was to be held at the palace of the Duke of York. The knowledge of this supplied abundant material for the construction of a most plausible and serious charge. Oates and Tonge, accordingly set about their nefarious work. The meeting of the Society was represented as a secret conciliabulum having for its object the assassination of his majesty and the establishment of the Catholic religion. A wide range of collateral fable was speedily invented to sustain the main accusation. The whole formed a considerably extensive writing, and was divided into three and forty articles. It was written in Greek to invest it with a more mysterious character and was supposed to be the work of an unknown individual. The plot succeeded most admirably. On the 2nd of October, a vote was passed by both branches of the legislature, affirming the existence of a conspiracy to

murder the king and to destroy the Protestant religion. The country was now in a blaze of excitement. Fear was depicted on every countenance; the Catholics were regarded as the enemies of the state, and indeed, in a measure, as the enemies of mankind. Hundreds were accordingly cast into prison on the plea of complicity in the imaginary plot, while all who refused to take the oath of allegiance were required to withdraw to a distance of at least ten or a dozen miles from his majesty's residence. Thirty thousand inoffensive persons were thus deprived of their liberty in the capital and driven out from their homes, while through the country at large those who refused the oath of allegiance were disarmed and obliged to furnish bail for their behavior. The fanaticism of the nation was not even appeased by this. The prospect of a Catholic sovereign ascending the throne in the person of the Duke of York, was a spectre that constantly haunted and affrighted the imagination of the country. To obviate so alarming an evil, was the object of the people's endeavors. But Charles would not be a party to so infamous a proceeding: natural affection triumphed in his case over religious antipathy, and forbade every attempt at altering the succession. He was willing, indeed, in everything else to accord to the wishes of parliament. Seeing the king's determination of maintaining inflexible his brother's prerogatives, parliament reluctantly desisted; but not before the introduction of a bill excluding from the lords all the Catholic hereditary peers.

At this juncture, Oates was joined by one of those unprincipled beings whose names have become infamous in the history of England. This was Bedloe. He had been frequently imprisoned for theft, and even, on one occasion, condemned to death. Aware of the credulity of the time and the readiness of the masses to accept anything incriminating the Catholic community, he saw his op-

portunity and embraced it. His testimony was wholly in support of Oates' assertions. According to him, a deep-seated plot had been formed for the purpose of making away with the king and altering the government of the country. An army of 30,000 men were to be thrown into the island. London was to be taken by surprise, and all who refused to become Catholics were to be put to the sword. Bedloe went further still, and in common with his partner in infamy, Oates, he accused her majesty, the queen, with being privy to a plot to assassinate the king. Though the accusations had nothing to support them beyond the wildest incredulity, they were still eagerly received and the arrest of all the Catholics of the kingdom was earnestly demanded by parliament. Numbers were accordingly cast into prison, some of whom, on the testimony of these infamous men, were condemned and executed.

The ferment at this time had become such that the Duke of York deemed it prudent to retire from the country—withdrawing to Brussels. His absence was a relief to the bigoted fanatics, who immediately attempted the recognition as heir-apparent to the throne, of one of Charles' natural children —the Duke of Monmouth. To reconcile the public to so base a proceeding as that of foisting upon the nation a bastard monarch, it was asserted that Charles had been secretly married to Monmouth's mother. But the king dissipated the treachery by openly denying the proceeding. Seeing no other way now of preventing the succession of the Duke of York, the lower House passed a bill of exclusion, but this was rejected by the Lords. The enemies of the heir-apparent, however, still pursued their hopeless task and proposed a divorce, granting the king permission to take another woman as his lawful wife, that thus the succession might be diverted from James, Duke of York. This Charles

absolutely refused to endorse. However immoral and unscrupulous he may have been in his general life, he had yet sufficient conscience remaining to prevent him from perpetrating so flagrant an injustice, and he informed his tempters that he would never be a partner to making an innocent woman his victim.

The enemies of the Catholics had recourse now to another expedient. Finding that they could not exclude the heir-apparent from the throne, they sought at least to limit his power when he would become king. With this view they introduced a bill into the Commons; but the measure was not supported and it fell to the ground. One would imagine that now at least all opposition would cease in regard to the royal succession. But it did not. Malice is never at rest; if it cannot destroy its victim, at least it will not cease to annoy him. Hence, on the 21st of December, 1680, a new address was presented to the king by the Commons, pointing out the inconveniences that would attend the accession of his brother, and absolutely refusing to grant the usual subsidies, unless his majesty agreed to the proposed measure of exclusion. To this the monarch replied, that the Lords had already expressed themselves in regard to that matter, and that he did not find himself at liberty, under such circumstances, to take any steps in the affair. The Commons retorted by refusing to vote the budget, demanding at the same time the dismissal from his majesty's council of several members, on the grounds of their being favorable to "popery." This was too much for Charles. Though slothful and timorous to an extent incompatible with the duties of one charged with the common interests of all, he now for the first time fully realized the extent of his power, and answered the demand made upon him by dissolving the parliament. Two months later, he assembled another House. In the interim, he had employed all his influence, but

in vain, to remove the cause of his embarrassment, by seeking to induce his brother to abandon the Catholic faith. The new parliament was nothing better than the old one. On the testimony of another infamous creature of the Oates and Bedloe stamp, Fitzharris, who accused the Duke of York and the Catholics in general of a design to assassinate the king, the members resolved to summon the heir-apparent before the bar of the House. Charles prevented the scandalous proceeding, by acting as he did in the case of the preceding parliament—he dismissed the assembly. From this, till the king's death in 1685, it was a constant war between royalty and the legislature.

Contrary to what might be expected from the opposition manifested by parliament and the country at large, during the reign of Charles, James' accession to the throne happened without any opposition. His policy from the outset was one of toleration; he desired that all should enjoy liberty of conscience, and, herein, he showed himself ahead of the times in which he lived. Amongst his first acts were an order for the release of all then in prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and the granting of commissions to Catholics in the army. Thousands, in consequence, regained their freedom. The unfavorable impression made on the minds of the intolerant by these liberal concessions, was heightened by the action of Louis XIV., who revoked at that date the edict of Nantes, thereby compelling numerous Protestants to seek an exile in England. James found it necessary to prorogue the parliament, so powerful was the opposition he met with. It was evident that the country was then on the eve of a powerful struggle, and it required all the prudence and tact of a great political leader to avoid a collision. Had the king adopted the wise counsels of the sovereign pontiff, he might have secured for himself the possession of the crown, and for the country the inval-

uable blessing of toleration in matters of faith. But his hatred of tyranny and a too ready reliance on the supposed liberal disposition of his subjects, betrayed him into acts which cost him the crown. His policy, indeed, was not extreme; but it was ahead of the times. In June, 1687, he informed his subjects that it was not his intention to interfere with the rights of conscience, nor to disturb the possessors of church property, confiscated since the Reformation. In the same document, he announced the suspension of the sanguinary laws made during the reign of his predecessors, and declared his intention of dispensing the offices of state at the disposition of the crown, without any regard to religious belief, guided solely by merit. These liberal, generous sentiments, which should have earned for him the applause and admiration of all, created in his regard only a stronger aversion. Even the dissenters, who, like the Catholics, were to be immediately benefited by the king's liberal policy, were partly opposed to his measures. And this was the more to be deplored, as by this liberal policy his majesty hoped to be able to form a parliament that would sustain him in these liberal designs. The great bulk of the dissenters, indeed, were on his side, and hence, as had been anticipated, congratulating addresses reached him from all sides, the Anglican community, alone, retaining against him an implacable and undying aversion. In all his proceedings, the king acted on his royal prerogative. To secure for the measures advanced a greater amount of stability, he sought to obtain for them the sanction of parliament, and when this was denied, he dissolved the assembly. This was with the hope that the general elections would give him more tractable members; but his anticipation not being likely to be realized, he found it a necessity to adjourn the meeting of parliament. Furthermore, the breach between his majesty and the Protestant community

was becoming wider and wider. In 1688, the presidency of Magdalen College becoming vacant, the king appointed to the office, Dr. Gifford, one of the four vicars-apostolic then in the kingdom. This, coupled with the removal of the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, for not admitting to the degree of master of arts, a Benedictine monk—Alban Francis, gave mortal offense to the Anglicans. The imprisonment, too, at this time, of seven of the Protestant bishops, for refusing to read from their pulpits the king's proclamation of liberty of conscience, added not a little to the hostility already existing against him. In fact, this was the culminating point of the king's unpopularity. From that moment, he continued to lose whatever little hold he had on the Protestant community; until at length, he found himself compelled to abandon the capital. He attempted, it is true, by a variety of concessions to regain his hold on the popular affections; but the time had passed for that. The nation had set its mind on obtaining his nephew, William of Orange, as king. That change was effected in February, 1689. It was an ill-omened day for the Catholics when James ceased to be their monarch. From that time their rights were forfeited, and their liberties trampled under foot.

CHAPTER III.

PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS IN IRELAND PARTICULARLY SEVERE—MANY RECORDS LOST—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH RENDERED THE PERSECUTION SEVERE—THE KING'S SUPREMACY VOTED BY THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES, AND DESTRUCTION OF SACRED OBJECTS—SUFFERINGS OF THE EXPELLED RELIGIOUS—FIRMNESS OF THE CLERGY—ELIZABETH SUCCEEDS MARY—HOW ELIZABETH'S SUPREMACY WAS OBTAINED—THE WAR AGAINST RELIGION—TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE—ATTEMPT TO STARVE THE NATION INTO SUBMISSION—TERRIBLE FAMINE IN CONSEQUENCE—DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—FIDELITY OF THE PEOPLE UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES IN ADHERING TO THEIR FAITH.

The persecution of religion from the date of Henry's revolt, was not as great in England and Scotland as in the sister isle, from the fact that in the former countries the opposition offered to the persecutors was not as determined and protracted as in the latter. In England especially, the people conformed without much opposition to the royal desire.* The case was different in Scotland the clergy there having acted a far nobler part.† It was, however, in Ireland that the Catholics assumed the most defiant and undaunted attitude, and repelled every effort to detach them from their holy faith. Accordingly, it was in Ireland that the persecution assumed its largest proportions, and made its greatest number of victims. And to such an extent did it rage, and so violent was its character, that hardly anything in the whole history of the Church of God is to be found equal to it in intensity. This is the deliberate conviction of the most careful and impartial writers. "Great as was the persecution of

* See Lingard's Hist. England.

† See Walsh's Hist. of the Cath. Church in Scotland.

the Roman emperors against the Church," say the authors of the Annals of the Four Masters, "it is not probable that so great a persecution as this ever came upon the world." That this is not a wild, extravagant assertion, uttered in a moment of excitement, but the calm, sober truth, the reader will be able to see on perusing the evidence to be laid before him.

It must, however, be remarked that a full and comprehensive account of the sufferings of the Catholics in Ireland can not be furnished, from the fact that not one-tenth of the atrocities perpetrated has ever been recorded. So deadly and crushing was the blow dealt by the persecutors against the country, that for nearly a century hardly an effort was made to place upon record the sufferings of the faithful. Immense numbers, accordingly, laid down their lives for the faith, of whom nothing whatever is known, as in the case of the multitudes who died under similar circumstances in the primitive ages. Many of the records, too, committed to writing, perished subsequently at the hands of the heretics. To such an extent is this true that one of the most painstaking and careful compilers of modern times has been obliged to confess, that the existing accounts of the sufferings of the Irish are only to be regarded as specimens, and by no means as comprehensive, satisfactory records. The author of The Persecution of the Catholics under Cromwell and the Puritans vouches for the same. For, after instancing in the case of Dr. Plunkett, how difficult it was to preserve any historical document from the fury of the persecutors, Dr. Moran, at present bishop of Ossory, says: "Under such circumstances it were vain to seek for a complete and consecutive history of the persecutions of our forefathers; and hence, although we have, on every side, proofs the most authentic of the fearful persecutions of the Irish Church, yet it is only in private letters and documents, referring

but casually to such matters, that the sufferings of individuals are described." In short, innumerable numbers, as we learn from O'Mahony, were put to death, exiled, or imprisoned, though at present we know nothing about them individually, not even their names. The records we have then, are only specimens of the whole; they are merely fragments, and as such give the reader barely a partial idea of what was endured by the nation. And not only are the historical narratives defective, in not being sufficiently detailed in the instances they deal with, but they are also and particularly defective in the periods omitted—decades, in some instances, yea even generations, of gaps in the religious history of the country being encountered of which little or nothing is said, from the causes assigned. Yet with the historical data before us, and judging from what is incontestably established, the evidence at hand is abundant to show that the persecution in Ireland was one of the greatest endured by the faithful, from the beginning of Christianity down to the present.

The year after Henry had received the title of supreme head of the Church of England from his slavish parliament, and while measures were being taken to place all the monastic property of the nation in his hands, an English Augustinian friar, George Browne, was appointed by his majesty to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. A more fitting agent could not be appointed for the work expected from him; he was heartily in the interests of his master, and labored with all his might to accomplish his patron's orders. These were, that in Ireland, as well as in England, the Catholics should renounce their allegiance to the see of Rome, and acknowledge, as their spiritual and temporal ruler, his majesty the king of England. Browne knew enough of the temper of the Irish people to understand the difficulty of the work he was expected to do, and accordingly suggested,

as the only available means of obtaining a recognition of the royal supremacy, the convening of a parliament. A bill smuggled through such an assembly, no matter how carried, might be said to stand for the will of the nation. The king heartily approved the primate's suggestion, and a parliament was accordingly convened, in which a bill, granting to his majesty the title of supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland, was laid before the House. Other measures of a like obnoxious character and having for their object the destruction of the supreme authority of the sovereign pontiff, were brought forward in the same parliament. Browne was of course sponsor for all these, but if he meant to convince by his reasoning the members of the House, he must have had a very contemptible regard for their intelligence, or a greatly exaggerated idea of his own powers, for his address on the occasion was one of the shallowest and illogical to be imagined. But Browne was not trusting to reasoning; he hoped to effect by bribery and fraud, what he could not by persuasion and eloquence. A great difficulty, however, lay in his way, in the opposition he was certain to meet with from the spiritual deputies. From time immemorial the right of every diocese sending to the parliament two spiritual proctors or deputies was acknowledged by the nation. The object of this arrangement was to preserve intact the faith of the country, for it was the duty of the proctors to declare whether the measures proposed were or were not in opposition to the rights, teachings and interests of religion. And such was the authority attaching to their decision, that nothing contrary to it was to be decided by parliament. In a word, the spiritual deputies or proctors were the national guardians of the faith of the nation. And as these men were all of unimpeachable character and thoroughly attached to the faith of their forefathers, it was

plain that if a decision in favor of Henry's supremacy were to be obtained from the parliament, it should be by excluding the proctors. No doubt this was an extreme measure, but necessary under the circumstances. The first session of this notorious parliament proved the truth of this; the proctors unanimously declared against the measure. Accordingly instructions were sent under the great seal of England, depriving them of the right to vote, thereby effectually hushing the voice of the Church in the legislative assembly of the nation. But this was not enough; for there was still faith enough amongst the other members to prevent the passing of the act, and with the view of overcoming this difficulty, all who were known to be opposed to it were prohibited casting their vote.* Thus the iniquitous measure was carried, and what in reality was only the work of a few apostate hirelings, was boastfully and untruthfully set forth by Henry and his agents as the act of the nation.

The king being now, by law, supreme head of the Church had, as such, a legal right to certain ecclesiastical tribute. Hence by an act entitled "first fruits," all appointed to any ecclesiastical livings were required to pay to his majesty a year's income. By another enactment he was to receive in like manner the first fruits of all abbeys, priories and hospitals, while at the same time the one-twentieth part of all spiritual benefices was declared by law to belong to the crown. Even this was insufficient to satisfy the greed of the monarch, and hence the granting of dispensations and faculties, which the king now claimed for himself in virtue of his position as head of the Church, was made another source of revenue. Meanwhile Browne, encouraged by the success he had met with, set himself with a fierceness and barbarity which betrayed the spirit by which he was actuated, to burn and demolish the most sacred emblems of

*Cusack's History of Ireland, p. 348.

the national faith to be found in the country. In this, indeed, he was only acting under instructions from his royal master, for in 1539, letters patent were issued under the privy seal appointing a commission of which Browne was a member and the object of which was to search out and break, deform and utterly demolish all the notable images and relics to be found in the island. It is humiliating to contemplate the excesses to which this iconoclastic commission was led in its hatred of Catholic objects. The feelings of the nation were outraged in the most horrible manner. Not only were the exquisite statuary that adorned the churches cast from their pedestals and broken into pieces, and the admirable and valuable paintings that served as aids for the piety and devotion of the people, committed to the flames; but those still more venerable objects of Catholic devotion, which through centuries had been connected with the most marvelous expressions of the goodness of God, in the miracles performed in behalf of all manner of suffering humanity, were also rudely and ruthlessly given over to destruction. Thus in the diocese of Meath, an image of our Blessed Redeemer on the cross, which for centuries was held in the highest veneration by the people, was barbarously committed to the flames. A like outrage was perpetrated in Trim against a famous statue of the Mother of God. But to crown all, the staff of Jesus was, in a like manner, shamefully burned in Dublin.*

Speaking of this wholesale destruction of sacred objects, the Four Masters thus vividly describe the excesses: "They broke into the monasteries; they sold their roofs and bells, so that there was not a monastery from Arran of the Saints

* This was so called from the tradition connected with it to the effect that it had been used by our Divine Lord. But some are of opinion that it had never been in the hands of the Savior, but merely touched a staff that He used. However that may be, it was held in the highest veneration. St. Patrick, according to tradition, obtained it from an anchorite, before coming to Ireland as bishop.

to the Iccian Sea that was not broken and scattered, except only a few in Ireland which escaped the notice and attention of the English. They, further, burned and broke the famous images, shrines and relics of Ireland and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary, which was at Ath-Truim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, and at which were healed the blind, the deaf, the lame, and the sufferers from all diseases; and the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, performing miracles from the days of St. Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ whilst he was amongst men. They also made archbishops and bishops for themselves; and although great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the Church, it is not probable that so great a persecution as this ever came upon the world: so that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description, unless it should be told by him who saw it." *

Before these deeds of violence were perpetrated by the alien persecutors, a grant of all the religious houses and monasteries had been made by the parliament to the king. It was in virtue of this legal enactment that the religious were deprived of their homes, and their properties confiscated. The first grant of this nature was made in 1536, when 370 monasteries, with an annual revenue of £32,000, were handed over to the king and ordered to be suppressed. A year later, eight abbeys shared the same fate, while still another year, in 1538, and all the abbeys and monasteries of the country which the piety and charity of the faithful had erected to the honor and glory of God, were ordered to be dissolved. Whenever the superiors of these religious establishments refused to surrender, they were rewarded for their fidelity by being made prisoners by their persecutors and cast into dungeons to eke out a miserable existence.

* See Annals of Four Masters.

The reason assigned by the king for this wholesale suppression of religious establishments was, that they were nurseries of vice and disorder and an impediment in preventing the light of the gospel from shining on his majesty's subjects! It is difficult to refrain from a smile in reading so singular a reason. Henry was doubtless solicitous about the light of the gospel shining upon his subjects, while he himself was living in adultery and staining his hands with the blood of his people. But the reason was as good as any that could be assigned, and it answered its purpose as well as anything else. The real motive that urged the king to the suppression of the religious establishments was two fold: avarice, and a hatred of the inmates for opposing his spiritual pretensions. In the former he had many associates and partners in guilt. The plunder was of too important a character to be appropriated solely by the king; and consequently offered an admirable prize for all the greedy and unscrupulous agents of government. All the gold and silver plate, however, was reserved for his majesty, and under this heading was comprised jeweled ornaments, bells, reliquaries, and in a word all manner of precious vases or ornaments used by religion in the service of God. It was the case of another Balthazar sacrilegiously appropriating the sacred vessels of the temple.

The sufferings to which the religious were exposed, on the suppression of their monasteries, were exceedingly great. Many were brutally murdered, others were reduced to a condition of protracted martyrdom in consequence of the want of the necessaries of life; while others again were cast into dungeons or confined in the houses of private individuals. But not all the violence and terror of their enemies were able to shake the faithful priests in their allegiance to God. Willingly they laid down their lives, rather than betray the cause of divine truth. At Atharee, forty-two reli-

gious of the Trinitarian Order met the demand made upon them to acknowledge the king's supremacy, by the undaunted answer, that they knew no other head on earth of the Catholic Church save the vicar of Christ. And for this faithful and resolute answer these noble, independent champions were made to undergo a malefactor's death, some being hanged, some beheaded, while others again were got rid of by cruelty and maltreatment. At Dublin, the members of the same Order met with a somewhat similar fate, the same being repeated in Limerick, Cork, Kilkenny, etc.

Of the determined attitude of the people and clergy of Ireland at this date and their inflexible resolve not to be drawn into the new heresy, nothing could bear more unequivocal testimony than the following extract of a letter of Browne addressed to his majesty's vicegerent, Cromwell: "Neither by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction—neither by oaths solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, since my coming over, once to preach the word of God or the just title of our most illustrious prince."

Thus for ten years till the death of Henry the country continued to suffer in a thousand ways at the hands of the despoilers, the faithful Catholics remaining all the while firm in their allegiance to the cause of divine truth.

On the 20th of January, 1547, Edward VI. succeeded to the throne of England. The short reign of this youthful monarch, who died six years later, merits no further attention in connection with our subject than the statement that during this king's rule the efforts of the reformers were equally abortive as in his father's reign, in the attempt to establish the newly-devised creed in the country.

In 1558, Elizabeth succeeded Mary on the throne of England, and then began the darkest period of Ireland's history. All that had been done under Henry, in suppressing the

monasteries, scattering the religious, and plundering the Church estates, was merely a prelude to what was about to follow. It was only a drop in that great cup of affliction afterwards held to the lips of Ireland and which she was necessitated to drink to the very dregs. Elizabeth's first anxiety was to have her royal title of supremacy confirmed by the Irish nation, and this was done, as in the case of her father, by packing the Irish Parliament. To this end, imperative orders were forwarded to the viceroy, Sussex, to see that the parliament complied with her majesty's desire. The lord-deputy found himself in a very unenviable position. On the one hand, were her majesty's positive instructions, and on the other, the well-known and undeniable unwillingness on the part of the members. One or the other of two courses, accordingly, alone remained open for the viceroy: either to inform her majesty of the actual determination of the country and to resign his position, or to carry the measure by fraud. The latter he preferred to do. The act indeed was passed, granting to Elizabeth the title of supreme head of the Church, but this was effected by bribery, and stealth, the measure being rushed through the House on a festival day, when the Catholic members were absent and when it was understood by them that no sitting would take place. Thus the Irish nation was said to have passed the act of royal supremacy, which in reality was the work of the deputy and his minions. In fact, in this as in every thing else, treachery and deceit have marked the career of England in Ireland. The best and most satisfactory proof that the doings of that parliament, or, more properly speaking, secret gathering, were not the work of the Irish people, and in no sense represented the sentiment and conviction of the nation, is the plain, irrefutable historic fact that all the efforts of Elizabeth and her successors were insufficient to detach the people of Ireland from the

faith of their forefathers. Another of the enactments passed at this time by a like complacent assembly was one requiring under penalty of fine, the presence of all at the new Protestant service.

Elizabeth's title of supreme head of the Church having been obtained in the manner just stated, all the enactments made under the late queen in favor of the Catholic religion were at once repealed, and all officers of the crown and ministers of religion were required to subscribe, under pain of forfeiture, to the new act of supremacy. On the other hand, any one maintaining the supremacy of the sovereign pontiff, was for the first offense to suffer the loss of all his real and personal property, for the second, to incur a *præmunire*, and for the third, high treason. The abolition of the holy sacrifice of the mass and the substitution in its stead of the English ritual, was also made obligatory under pain of the loss of a year's income and imprisonment for the first offense, deprivation from office and incarceration at the monarch's pleasure for the second, and for the third, perpetual imprisonment. At the same time, all indiscriminately were required to attend the new heretical service, under the penalty of a shilling for every offense.

The war against religion was now fairly begun: Elizabeth had taken her stand and so had the nation. It was another case of the powers of darkness arrayed against the Children of Light; it was satan measuring his strength against the eternal Son of God. In 1563, the viceroy issued a proclamation prohibiting the clergy from holding assemblies, and commanding all to be present at new service. The consequence of this was, that the priests had every-where to fly their homes and to betake themselves to the mountain fastnesses and morasses. The hunt for these faithful men, to get them to conform to the new state of affairs, was now every-where vigorously prosecuted by

the agents of government, who, in their unaccountable hatred for everything Catholic, perpetrated the most shameful excessess in every part of the country. "Everywhere," says the Cistercian writer Henriquez, "the heretics profaned the sacred churches, demolished the altars, consigned to the flames the holy images, and devoted to profane purposes the chalices and other ornaments of divine worship. Not a day passed without being marked by some cruel martyrdom; the nobles were despoiled of their wealth and possessions; the poor overwhelmed with affliction; the natives banished into foreign lands; the priests were compelled to wander from place to place, or were thrown into prison. The religious dared not appear in public, and no one could attempt to preach the Catholic faith or defend the supremacy of the holy see. It was not sufficient for the enemies of our faith to persecute the Catholics in the cities and towns: they followed them, moreover, to the woods and mountains, like hungry lions pursuing the flock of Christ. Their diabolical cruelty was still more displayed in the destruction of the numerous and richly-adorned monasteries, which the munificence of the nobility had erected and endowed in former times, that their inmates might devote themselves wholly to the praises and service of God; but the heretics pulled down the churches, destroyed the edifices by fire, murdered the servants of God, profaned the sacred places, and made the houses of prayer become the dens of thieves. They were earthly paradises —they now became the abode of demons; for the voice of prayer, was substituted blasphemy, and instead of the daily sacrifice of thanksgiving, nought was witnessed but abomination and crime." Again, speaking of the sufferings of his own Order, the same writer says: "Some, full of affliction and misery, fled from the sword which impended over them; others were murdered or burnt to death in

their convents; all the monasteries were levelled to the ground; the virgins, who from their youth had consecrated themselves to God, were driven from their convents and compelled to wander in hunger through the woods and mountains. The heretics were the more eager in the pursuit of our religious, as our monasteries were numerous and rich; and in a short time all were completely destroyed." The Dominican writer Dominick De Rosario gives an equally harrowing account of the sufferings of the Catholics at that period. "Divesting themselves of humanity," he says, "and disregarding God's anger, the rage of these heretics (who may be likened to famished lions) exhausted itself on our holy edifices. The priests of the Lord were stoned in public thoroughfares, and their tonsured heads were made targets for those wretches to aim at. Some of these priests had their brains beaten out, their bodies dashed to the earth, trodden under foot and bruised by kicks and blows. Some had the nails of their fingers torn out by the roots, whilst others, actually saw their entrails protruding, and their flesh ripped and torn by combs of iron. How shall I describe such scenes? They were stoned, they were cut asunder, they were trampled, they were put to death by the sword. But, praised be God! they were true to their faith. Their persecutors excelled in malice, their cruelty surpassed its ordinary character, and their ferocity shrank not from the most appalling crime."

It is difficult to conceive the reality of which the foregoing is an outline; it reminds one of the worst days of pagan Roman persecution. While being the work of a Christian monarch and an invader it makes the sufferings of the Irish the most noteworthy to be encountered in the annals of the world. And the more one descends to particulars the more horrible and savage these cruelties appear. Thus

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of one of these persecutors of the faithful Irish it is recorded that he was wont to dig out their eyes with their own hands. Others tossed the little infants into the air and caught them as they fell to the ground on the points of their swords; while of others it is said that they found their amusement in hanging their victims to the boughs of trees, rejoicing exceedingly in witnessing the children clinging to their strangled mothers' flowing locks! These and similar excesses were the reason why we affirmed at the beginning of this chapter that the sufferings of the Irish for the faith of Christ are amongst the most notable of any upon record. No wonder under such circumstances that a faithful Irish chronicler should express himself as follows: "This far-famed English queen has grown drunk on the blood of Christ's martyrs, and, like a tigress, she has hunted down our Irish Catholics, exceeding in ferocity and wanton cruelty the emperors of pagan Rome." And in another place he says that "God alone can enumerate the number of martyrs whose blood was shed." What rendered this persecution still more atrocious and horrible was that it was accompanied with fraud and unattended by the smallest evidence of clemency. The persecutors never or rarely showed any quarter. "They massacred their prisoners," says O'Connor, "in cold blood ... They set fire to the towns and villages; they destroyed the corn and cattle, and drove the inhabitants without distinction of sex or age to feed on dockings and nettles like the beasts of the field." As to the charge of bad faith, a couple of the more notable instances will suffice. Thus at Mullaghmast where 400 of the principal inhabitants of Leix and Offaly assembled at the invitation of her majesty's representative, not one remained to tell the tale of the horrible butchery—all were barbarously slain in cold blood. Again at Limerick, every

member of the garrison in violation of the pledged faith of the English commander, was iniquitously put to the sword. In like manner in Dursey Island, the entire garrison with a great part of the inhabitants were ruthlessly slain. It is in the light of these and similar facts that we can readily interpret the meaning of O'Mahoney's assertion that "innumerable individuals of both sexes, as well nobles as plebeians, were put to death." In fine, ruined homes, desecrated churches, bloodshed, and cruelty of every description marked the progress of the invaders, all over the land. And when such deeds of barbarous oppression were found insufficient to pervert or eradicate the Irish, the barbarous resolve was come to of starving the nation into submission. The soul swells with indignation and the blood courses quickly through the veins when one contemplates the idea of so horrible an act of barbarity.

With the view of starving the Irish into an abandonment of their holy faith, the country was scoured in every direction by bands of heretical troops, whose business it was to destroy every species of produce and every means of support and existence. In consequence, all the crops were burned, the cattle slain, and the dwellings in great measure demolished. The testimony of this unparalleled barbarity, such as has never been perpetrated by any race, civilized or savage, before or since, is to be found in the writings of the very men who were leaders in this worse than Vandal destruction. Thus Sir George Carew, who was in command of one of these devastating bands, tells us that after destroying all the dwellings and corn in the vicinity of Limerick, he led his troops into the Aharlow Glen, where, to use his own words, "we did the like," namely, such as they had done near Limerick; "not leaving behind us *man or beast, corn or cattle.*" And of another band of like marauders, he says: "They left

neither corn, nor barn, nor house unburnt between Kinsale and Ross." While again he declares that another body of destroyers "did the like, between Ross and Bantry."

Leland, another unimpeachable witness, says: "The soldiers encouraged by the example of their officers everywhere cut down the standing corn with their swords, and devised every means to deprive the wretched inhabitants of all the necessaries of life; for, famine was judged the speediest and most effectual means of reducing them." Like testimony is born by Lord Mountjoy to the fact of this mode of attempting to dispose of the Irish, and lest the destruction of the standing corn might not prove sufficiently effectual, an instrument in the shape of a harrow with long pins was devised in order to tear up the young crop from the roots! Nor was this wholesale and wanton destruction of the means of existence of the Irish people the work of an individual commander. It was the cold-blooded, formal determination of the enemies of religion, then seeking to impose upon faithful Ireland a heretical creed. For this we have the testimony of one of the last-mentioned writers, namely Leland who says that *all the English garrisons were daily employed in pillaging and wasting*, while in another part of his history he informs us that the inhabitants "were effectually prevented from sowing and cultivating their land." In fine Sir Henry Dowcra, giving an account of his expedition into O'Kane's country in Ulster, says: "We found it large and full of houses and corn; we divided ourselves, and set a compass about, so as at night we met altogether and encamped in the midst of the country, each troop having fired the houses and corn they met with, which I never saw in more abundance." And again after stating that he had joined Sir Arthur Chichester, who was engaged in a similar work, he says: "Ten days I stayed with his lordship in these parts, assisting him to waste and

spoil the country, which he endeavored by all the means he could possibly to do."

The consequences that followed from this wholesale and most barbarous destruction of the means of existence are amongst the most frightful to be encountered in the pages of history. Famine in all its horror, as had been anticipated and evoked, visited the land and passed like a destroying angel from end to end of the ill-fated isle. The inhabitants died in thousands; whole villages and town-lands were depopulated, the dead and the dying were encountered on all sides, so that it may be truly affirmed that the entire country became one common graveyard. Nor was the condition of the survivors much better than that of the dead; but for a description of the former we refer the reader to Spencer's description as given in vol. 1. The picture drawn in the passage referred to, it must be admitted, is one of the most deplorable and heart-rending to be encountered in the annals of the world. And that it is not in anything unreal or exaggerated the testimony of prominent contemporary witnesses is a satisfactory guarantee. Of these the lord-deputy and Lord Mountjoy may be offered in evidence. The former, writing to the English privy council of the then actual state of affairs in Ireland, says that in his northern tour he found the dead everywhere, that between Tullaghoge and Toome, there lay unburied as many as one thousand, while in Tyrone, three thousand were starved to death. Mountjoy is more detailed and explicit in his description, when he says: "No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns and especially in the wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all colored green by eating nettles, docks and all things they could rend up above the ground." A little before in the same account he had stated that the living were driven to eat the

flesh of the dead, and in proof cites the testimony of Sir Arthur Chichester who, he says, witnessed three famishing children devouring the body of their deceased mother!

Hollingshed testifies to the same, for he says: "After this followed an extreme famine, and such whom the sword did not destroy, the same did consume and eat out, very few or none remaining alive, excepting such as were fled over into England; and yet the store in the towns was far spent and they in distress, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who lived at large, for they were not only driven to eat horses, dogs and dead carrion, but also did devour the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundry examples—namely, one in the county of Cork where, when a malefactor was executed to death, and his body left upon the gallows, certain poor people did secretly come, took him down and did eat him; likewise in the bay of Smerwick, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened to be a ship there, lost through foul weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land. The common people who had a long time lived on limpets, ore-weed, and such shell-fish as they could find, and which were now spent, as soon as they saw these bodies, they took them up and most greedily did eat and devour them and not long after death and famine did eat and consume them. The land itself, which before these wars was populous, well inhabited and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corn, full of cattle, well stored with fish and sundry other good commodities, is now become waste and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattle, the air no birds, the sea though full of fish yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, every way, the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from the one end to the other of all Munster even from Waterford to the head of Smerwick, which is

about six score miles, he would not meet any man, woman or child, saving in towns and cities, nor yet see any beast, but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts, many of them lay dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere."

O'Sullivan Beare's description of the deplorable state of the country, is no less harrowing. "All Ireland," says this writer, " was devastated and reduced to ruin; an unparalled scarcity and famine prevailed every-where. Nor was it man alone that suffered; the very beasts of the field were in many places swept away having nothing to subsist upon; the wolves abandoning the hills and woods, assailed and devoured the emaciated inhabitants. The dogs rooted up from the graves the decaying corpses and devoured even the very bodies of the deceased." Another unimpeachable writer Mooney who was in like manner an eye-witness to these harrowing scenes, tells us that one might pass in almost any direction through the country to the distance of forty miles without encountering man or beast. And all this it must be borne in mind was the result of a projected plan; it was the means employed by the persecutors to destroy the remnant of the Irish race that they could not otherwise effectually dispose of. " I myself witnessed the English army," says the last-quoted writer, " cutting down the corn with scythes in the month of July, when as yet the ear was scarce shot out, intending by this means to destroy the remnant of the natives by famine."

Such were the means employed by the persecutors to detach the Irish from their holy faith, and in view of these agencies, we can safely appeal to all history and challenge the reader to furnish an instance of any equally barbarous and horrible means employed for the destruction of a people.

The strategies and inhumanity employed to break the

constancy of the anointed of the Lord, especially the bishops, were equally unworthy and indefensible. Thus, for thirteen years, Dr. Wm. Walsh of Meath, for no other crime than refusing to take the oath of supremacy, was immured in a damp, noisome prison, where a ray of light was never permited to enter. A speedy execution would have been a thousands times preferable to that protracted martyrdom; but the object was to overcome his constancy, an attempt in which his persecutors signally failed. The treatment of Dr. O'Hurley was still more atrocious. His martyrdom recalls the worst days of pagan Roman persecution. Having refused to abandon his holy faith, he was cast on the ground and his legs forced into long leathern (some say tin) boots filled with salt, butter, oil, turpentine and pitch. Thus encased, his legs were stretched upon an iron grate, beneath which a slow fire was kindled, and in this manner, like another Lawrence, he was literally roasted alive, his inhuman tormentors jeering at his sufferings, and urging him to deny his faith. "For an hour," says the biographer of the martyr, "he was subjected to this torture; as the pitch, oil, and other materials boiled, not only did the skin fall off, but the flesh itself melted away; the muscles, veins and arteries were gradually contracted, and when the boots were pulled off, particles of the broiled flesh being torn off with them, not a small portion of the bones was left quite bare, presenting a horrid spectacle, which no words can describe. Still, the holy martyr, having his mind fixed on God and holy things, never uttered a word of complaint, but endured the dreadful torture with the greatest courage, maintaining to the very end, the same serene and tranquil countenance. The tyrants had vainly sought to subdue his spirit by these torments, but at length they ordered him to be again thrown into his former dark and loathesome dungeon, for he was ready to endure still greater suffering, if

such could be devised." In prison his tormentors still continued to employ all their efforts to shake his constancy, but finding all in vain, he was finally ordered to be hanged, a sentence which was carried into effect at day-break, on the 6th of May, 1584, the archbishop being then in his 65th year. The bishop of Emly, Dr. Murtagh O'Brien, endured it is thought, the same torture and died in prison the following year. Seven years previous, the bishop of Mayo, Dr. Patrick O'Hely, and his companion, Father Cornelius O'Rourke, a Franciscan religious, and eldest son of the prince of Breffney, had borne a still more brilliant testimony to the faith, for their sufferings were greater by far, being in every way equal to those endured for the cause of Christ by the greatest martyrs of the primitive times. They were at first laid upon the rack, and having been unmercifully stretched and beaten, but to no purpose, sharp pointed instruments were thrust under their nails, all, which only increasing their faith and constancy, they were finally executed by being hanged from a tree. Nor must it be supposed that this was a casual instance of the barbarity of the persecutors; it was, on the contrary, a sample of the general tortures inflicted on the sufferers. In the diocese of Cloyne, Father Daniel O'Neilan was executed by being cast from the battlements of Trinity Tower, and while the mangled remains were still palpitating, life not being yet extinct, the lacerated body was dragged to a neighboring mill and tied to the water wheel, so that it should be utterly broken in pieces. Father Maurice Kinrehan, while being conveyed a captive to Clonmel, was slain by order of the officer in command, and his body having been cut into fragments by the brutal soldiery, was scattered on the highway, to be devoured by dogs and beasts of prey. As to the members of the second order of the clergy, who thus laid down their lives for the faith, there are no accurate statistics, but that

they were exceedingly great cannot be doubted. Many are recorded by O'Reilly in his lives of the Irish Martyrs, but a far greater number gave their lives, of whom, like the early Christians, there is no record whatever existing. Indeed, so great was their number, that one of the most careful and intelligent ecclesiastical writers of our times, does not hesitate to declare, that the number of the clergy who died for the faith in Ireland was innumerable: employing, of course, this expression in its conventional sense. And if the clergy were so severely tried, if so many of them died for the faith, what can be said of the laity? Who could undertake to enumerate the thousands of the faithful Irish people, who for the same noble cause, and actuated by the same divine motives, laid down their lives rather than abandon the truth? Farther on, we will try to form an estimate of the numbers that thus upheld with their lives, the principles of divine truth. Meantime, it is here proper to enquire, how far this terrible war against God and his Church served to destroy the faith in Ireland. Of this the reader may form an idea from the following communication, addressed by Dr. Loftus, the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, to Lord Burghley, in which he says: "This people hath ever since grown to wonderful obstinacy, and therein do persist unto this day, increasing in malice beyond all measure, and utter detestation of religion."—*i. e.* the Protestant. Behold, reader, the result of all the violence, cruelty and persecution perpetrated by the enemies of religion in Ireland, during the long reign of Elizabeth. The Irish were made only more obstinate and determined in clinging to their faith, according to the Protestant primate's declaration.

I do not, indeed, assert that none were false to their conscience and their God, during the long night of their unparalleled suffering. It would be unreasonable to suppose that all had the firmness to remain true, but this I maintain

that fewer of the Irish have been false to their God than of any other people in the world, under similar circumstances. Not a hundreth, nor a thousandth part of them were wanting in the day of trial. "Of all the countries of Europe, subject to heretical kings," writes Dr. Lynch, an eye-witness of Ireland's sufferings and Ireland's triumph, "there is not one in which a greater number of subjects have persevered in the old faith, and in obedience to the sovereign pontiff, than in Ireland. Cardinal Bentivoglio has truly observed, that the Irish would seem to have sucked in the Catholic faith with their mother's milk. In other countries smitten with heresy, the majority followed the example of the king, or other governing power of the state, and renounced the old faith and the supremacy of the pope; but in Ireland, I do not hesitate to assert, that not the tenth, nor the hundreth, no, nor the thousandth part, revolted from the faith of their fathers to the camp of the heretics." How glorious is not this testimony, particularly when we remember what we have seen in the first volume of this work, regarding the numerous apostasies of the early Christians. Hence it is not untrue to say, that of all nations, Ireland has been the most faithful and true to the faith of Christ. This is no vain boast, nor is it a fact to be demonstrated merely by the events to be encountered in one persecuting monarch's reign. It is the same throughout, equally alike under the rule of every prince who drew the sword of persecution against this faithful people.

CHAPTER IV.

ELIZABETH IS SUCCEEDED BY JAMES I.—PERSECUTION INCREASES—THE PRIESTS ARE HUNTED DOWN EVERY-WHERE—THE PRISONS FILLED WITH THEM—ATTEMPT TO MAKE IRELAND PROTESTANT BY PLANTING ENGLISH AND SCOTCH COLONIES IN IT—A VAST AMOUNT OF LAND CONFISCATED FOR THIS PURPOSE—KNOX, BISHOP OF RAPHOE, PERPETRATES GREAT EXCESSES—OLIVER ST. JOHN IS GUILTY OF THE SAME—THE DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING PRIESTS TO KEEP THE FAITH ALIVE—SPAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY COME TO THE AID OF THE IRISH CHURCH BY FOUNDING COLLEGES—JAMES I. DIES AND IS SUCCEEDED BY CHARLES I.—THE KING IN DIFFICULTIES—THE CATHOLICS FURNISH AID AND OBTAIN SOME CONCESSIONS—MASS AGAIN CELEBRATED IN PUBLIC—THE PROTESTANTS ARE ENRAGED—RETURN TO PERSECUTION—HEROISM OF THE WOMEN OF DUBLIN—VISCOUNT WENTWORTH AS VICEROY—HIS PERFIDY TOWARDS THE IRISH.

Elizabeth's long and bloody reign drew to a close in 1603. She was succeeded by Mary Stewart's son, James VI. of Scotland, under the title of James I. of England. As an apostate, the Catholics had nothing to hope from his majesty; but from his previously made and repeated assurance of his determination to grant liberty of conscience to all, many were ready to believe that the policy followed by Elizabeth would be abandoned by him. In this, however, the credulous were entirely mistaken, for no sooner did the newly-crowned monarch find himself securely seated on the throne, than he issued a declaration informing his Irish subjects that no toleration would ever be granted them as long as he was their king, adding significantly the following words to prevent even the comfort of hope: "This we do for the purpose of cutting off all hope that any other religion shall be allowed save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm." The Catholics now saw what

was in store for them, and they prepared themselves accordingly. Meantime the penal enactments prepared during the late reign, were ordered to be renewed and put into force. By these all were required under penalty of fine to be present every Sunday at the Protestant service, while as regards the clergy they were ordered to withdraw immediately from the kingdom. Thus a commencement was made of a persecution which exceeded even that of Elizabeth. In fact, in a short time the persecution extended to all parts of the nation and victims were made in every locality. "The satellites of James," says De Rosario, "put his decree in execution in every part of Ireland. Their virulence knew no bounds, the priests of the people were made to suffer and those who stood by them became participators of their sorrows." The Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, also, says in a letter to Cardinal Baronius: "The impious soldiery by day and night pursue the defenseless priests and mercilessly persecute them. . . As the priests are pursued by the cruel soldiers, so the Catholic laity, if they have any temporal possessions, are victims of the avaricious courtiers, and are incessantly oppressed by them by fines and imprisonment and chains and threats, and various unusual and inhuman vexations until they are reduced to extreme poverty and misery."

This was written from Waterford on the 1st of May, 1606, and before the month had ended a new edict was issued ordering all priests detected in the country to be hanged forthwith on the spot, without trial or examination of any kind. The condition to which the country in consequence was reduced was appalling in the extreme. The persecution had now assumed its most terrible proportions, and vividly recalled the worst days of pagan Roman tyranny. From a letter written at that date by the clergy of

Dublin to their ecclesiastical agents in Rome, we learn that on the 28th of September, 1605, an edict was issued commanding all the priests and seminarists in the country to quit the island, under the penalty of death within ten days. Whosoever after that date held any intercourse with them, showed them any hospitality, or failed to discover upon them to the proper authorities, rendered themselves liable to be hanged forthwith without any form of trial. A standing reward of two thousand florins was offered by government for the discovery of every Jesuit and one thousand for every other priest. To capture such, bands of soldiers scoured the country in every direction, forcibly entered the dwellings wherever they pleased, abusing, maltreating and slaughtering the inmates, according to their pleasure. And when in their distress and helpless condition the wealthier classes protested against these illegal proceedings, their very petition was construed into an offense and many were in consequence cast into prison and punished for having dared to appeal to the authorities. Numbers, too, of greedy, unscrupulous spendthrifts took advantage of this deplorable state of affairs to enrich themselves at the expense of the unfortunate Catholics. Thus by bribery having obtained for themselves the title and authority of inquisitors, they roamed at large through the country, imposing fines according to their pleasure and appropriating to their own use whatever of value they discovered in the dwellings of their victims. "No doors," says the letter referred to, "no enclosures, no walls can stop them in their course; they are unmoved by the shrieks of the females and by the weeping of the children. Everything is torn open and whatever is of any value is set aside to be carried away." This it must be conceded is one of the saddest instances on record of the intolerance of one people to another. It will ever stand

on the page of time as an evidence of man's inhumanity to man. Nor yet was this all that was perpetrated against the Irish people in attempting to wrest from them the priceless jewel of faith. A new idea now occurred to the persecutors; that was to anglicize and protestantize the country by introducing into it English and Scottish speculators. To this end six whole counties, in the province of Ulster, comprising 400,000 acres of tillage land, were confiscated by the crown and handed over to 200 Scotch and English owners; 66,000 acres were set apart in the counties of Dublin and Waterford for a like purpose, while in Westmeath, Longford, King's and Queen's Counties, and Leitrim, land to the amount of 385,000 acres was plundered from the natives and handed over to foreign heretics! And who it might be asked were those who were thus favored by the crown and made the lords of the soil? They were adventurers, spendthrifts, blacklegs, and broken-down characters of every description, whose reputation and standing in society had shut them out from all posts and offices of emolument and trust in the countries from which they came. Nor was this all that the Irish had to endure at the hands of their oppressors; not only were they plundered of their temporal goods, deprived of their natural and national rights, but, to add insult to injury, they were outraged and dishonored in their most sacred and venerable associations. Thus, as a mark of contempt for their holy religion, the places which formerly served as temples of God, were now shamefully applied to temporal purposes, being converted into secular courts for the distribution of such law as existed, the officers of the crown taking their seats on what were once the altars of God, whereon was offered the adorable sacrifice of the mass. Then, indeed, it might be truly affirmed that the words of the prophet were literally fulfilled, for that the abomination of desolation was seen standing in the holy place.

One of the most bigoted and intolerant agents of the government at this time was a certain ecclesiastic named Knox, who received his appointment from James as bishop of Raphoe. This fiery zealot, like his more notorious kinsman and co-religionist, bore the most implacable hatred against the Catholic faith. In a series of edicts, for which he had the sanction of the temporal powers, he declared that all papists should forthwith depart out of the kingdom under the penalty of death, that none should send their children out of the country for education, and that all such then in foreign lands should return within the space of a year or suffer the loss of their estates. To these were added other clauses of an equally arbitrary and tyrannical character to the effect that no Catholic should exercise the office of teacher, that no one should harbor a priest, that all should be present at the Protestant service, and that the churches that were in any way injured during the recent uprising, should be repaired at the expense of the Catholics. To give effect to these intolerant statutes, Knox at the head of a party of troops scoured the country in every direction, torturing and slaying wherever he went. The viceroy, Chichester, who, as we have seen on a former page, had registered a solemn oath to uproot Catholicity from the land, naturally lent all the weight of his authority to sustaining such atrocious proceedings. Nor was this inexorable persecutor's successor in office, Oliver St. John, who arrived in the country in 1616, of a less intolerant disposition. On the contrary he seems to have out-Heroded Herod in his hatred of the Catholic Irish, for, as we learn from a communication of the archbishop of Cashel, the people were more afflicted under him than during the rule of his predecessor. His career is thus briefly described by O'Sullivan: "This cruel monster being made viceroy, the fury of the persecutors

was redoubled. On assuming his office he is said to have sworn to extirpate within two years all the Catholic priests in Ireland. For this purpose, in 1616, commissary judges were appointed for each district, accompanied by troops of armed men and authorized to inflict the penalties of the law on all the clergy and to exact from the laity an account of their manner of life. From the fines of the Catholics, who refused to assist at the impious heretical rites, 6000 crowns of gold were gathered into the royal treasury. New prisons were made and filled with Catholics. In the city of Dublin above 900 of the laity were thrown into gaol, for refusing the oath of supremacy." The enormous amounts wrung from the persecuted Catholics by means of fines for non-attendance at Protestant worship, may be imagined from the fact that in the county of Cavan alone as much as £80,000 sterling were levied under that pretense and, when the more impoverished unable to pay. fled to the mountains and bogs to avoid being cast into prison,the horrible and brutal resort was had recourse to of putting blood-hounds on their tracks and thus pursuing them unrelentlessly to death! In such a deplorable state of affairs, we are not astonished at the assertion made by the archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Matthews, when writing to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, to the effect that all the previous efforts of the persecutors were insignificant compared to what was being then carried out: while in another part of the same communication the venerable prelate also says that "so violent is the storm of persecution which they have thus excited that it almost baffles description." This will sufficiently explain and justify the privilege then accorded the laity of conveying, as in the primitive times, the adorable Eucharist to those in danger of death.

In those dark and dreary days of worse than pagan Ro-

man persecution one of the greatest difficulties that faithful Ireland had to contend with was the supplying the place of those devoted priests who, from years of sufferings inflicted on them by their oppressors, fell nobly in the discharge of their sacred duties. As no Catholic schools were then tolerated in the country, and as the means at the disposal of the impoverished Catholics were wholly inadequate to furnish the resources necessary for the establishment of ecclesiastical colleges in other lands, the nation was led to expect from others what she was unable to furnish herself. In her distress she turned her eyes to Catholic Europe. The common bond of faith that united her with her brethren on the continent, and the noble and heroic resistance she was then making in defense of the faith of Christ, touched a chord of sympathy in the breasts of Spain, France, and Italy, and obtained for Ireland in the shape of ecclesiastical seminaries, the means of promoting to a successful issue the glorious contest in which she was then engaged. Thus the countries mentioned came to Ireland's aid at a most critical period of her history, and enabled her, by furnishing the means for training her youthful Levites, to preserve her sacred ministry and with the ministry the faith of the nation. But of the nations that hastened to the relief of Ireland in that darkest moment of her history, none deserves so well the gratitude of the Irish people as Catholic Spain, for not only in one but in several of her cities, in Madrid, Seville, Salamanca, Valencia, Compostella, and Alcala did she establish seminaries and colleges which furnished an ample supply of priests for the wants of the Irish Church. Thus despite all the efforts of the powers of hell, Ireland preserved intact the faith of Patrick, nor was there ever a moment when the line of her episcopacy was broken.

James I. died in 1625, and was succeeded by Charles I.

A little gleam of hope now shone on the Catholics. The unpleasant position in which England then found herself, made it impolitic to continue the persecution as it had been conducted under James. The Catholics accordingly saw their opportunity and profited by it. They promised, in case their religion was tolerated, to supply his majesty with £120,000 and to furnish a contingent army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. The king was delighted and readily accepted the terms. Religion, accordingly, being relieved from the penalties to which it was subjected, began to flourish again. The holy sacrifice was once more offered in public, without fear of molestation from the heretical persecutors. The timid and frightened faithful assumed again a calm and confident look. Private houses were rented and turned into chapels; schools were erected and pilgrimages undertaken But all this was little more than momentary; it was only the gleam of sunshine breaking through the dark masses of clouds to be immediately withdrawn again. Whether Charles really meant to keep his word, in granting the "graces" referred to, may be a question of doubt; but one thing is certain that his advisers were determined he should not. The rapid recuperation of religion in the country was what they could not endure, and in order to restrain what they could not destroy, the privy-council of Ireland composed of the viceroy, Lord Falkland, Adam Loftus, the lord chancellor, and Usher, the archbishop of Armagh, addressed a communication to his majesty praying for powers to restrain within bounds what they were pleased to designate as the "arrogance" of the Catholics. The true cause of their displeasure and uneasiness, as we can readily infer from the words of their petition, was the renewed vitality and wonderfully rapid advance then being made by our holy religion. "We have already made your lordships," say the above-mentioned parties, addressing the

members of the privy-council of England, "acquainted with the intolerable increase and progress of the Jesuits, seminarists, priests, and monastic friars, who have arrived in this kingdom and derive all ecclesiastical law and authority from the bishops of Rome." It was the intolerable increase and progress of the faith, then, that these officers of justice could not endure. Charles was ungenerous and inconsistent enough to listen to their prayers. In violation of his pledged concessions, made to the Catholics, he granted them the powers they demanded, and thus armed the Irish secular authorities issued an ordinance undoing all that the king had previously done. They commanded the dissolution of all religious establishments, forbade the clergy from performing any sacred functions, and the Catholics in general from imparting any religious or secular instruction to any one. The measure was in spirit a return to the worst days of James' and Elizabeth's reign, but the power to carry it into effect was lacking. In general the ordinance was disregarded by the Catholics, but not without an effort on the part of their persecutors to prevent them. Thus on St. Stephen's day, 1629, the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, at the head of a number of military, proceeded to the Carmelite Church in Cook street, where the holy sacrifice of the mass was being offered. Bursting into the sacred edifice, the Vandal, iconoclastic band made for the sanctuary, hewed down the sacred emblem of man's redemption, overturned the altar, demolished the statuary, and were leading away in triumph two of the holy religious, when the assembled worshippers, composed mainly of women and youths, aroused at the sight of their faithful priests being dragged from their midst, rushed determinedly upon the archbishop and his satellites, compelling them to abandon their victims and to seek safety by flight!

The heroism thus displayed by the women of Dublin,

while it covered them with honor, saved, at the same time, other places of worship from being desecrated on the same occasion, for it was the archbishop's intention to have treated the other Catholic edifices in a similar manner. The triumph, however, was only momentary. Immediately after, government seized upon all the religious establishments in the metropolis and instructions were forwarded to the country officials to do in like manner in their respective localities. Of the actual state of affairs at that critical juncture and the sufferings to which the faithful were subjected, the reader may form a tolerably accurate idea from the following extract from a letter written at that date by one of the sufferers, Father Eugene Field, to a friend on the Continent. "A grievous persecution," says the writer, " commenced in this kingdom at Dublin, on the feast of St. Stephen, and it goes on increasing every-where throughout the entire kingdom, so that our house in Dublin is wholly destroyed and the houses elsewhere have all been handed over to other persons. No two religious can anywhere live together; and yet this is only a prelude to the intended persecution." Another religious, the guardian of a convent in Galway, writes in a somewhat similar manner: " So great is the persecution we are subjected to (praise be to God), that there was none so grievous since the commencement of the oppression of the Catholic religion in this kingdom." Such was the result of the privileges granted by Charles to the Catholics of Ireland, for supplying him with troops and means in his hour of need. Nor could it be said that the course taken by the representatives of government in Ireland, was contrary to the king's desire, for a letter addressed at that date by the privy-council of England to the members of the privy-council in Ireland endorsed and approved all that had been done. All the churches, chapels, and religious houses in the country having been either destroyed or hand-

ed over to government, the clergy had to confine their ministrations to private dwellings, endeavoring as best they could to minister in this fashion to the wants of the faithful, while awaiting with hope and anxiety the hour of their delivery from this horrible bondage of servitude.

The constant state of fear and alarm in which the Catholics lived during this state of affairs, was increased by the news of the appointment, in 1633, of Viscount Wentworth to the position of lord deputy. For this nobleman had often publicly declared his abhorrence of the Catholic faith. With the view of making a favorable impression on the mind of the viceroy, and thereby averting from themselves the dangers and sufferings with which they seemed to be threatened, the Catholics of Ireland forwarded to the newly-appointed representative of the government, who had not yet departed from England, a most loyal and submissive address, declaring their confidence in the wise and humane policy which they hoped would be inaugurated by his lordship in the country. The promise that the petition contained, of a subsidy to be raised for the king, in case it were needed, was particularly pleasing to the viceroy. The document, accordingly, attained in part the end for which it was intended; the fears of the Catholics were calmed, and the hope of toleration once more cheered the nation. There was, however, a fanatical party in the country that did all in its power to prevent any concessions to the Catholic body. But in the face of the difficulties then besetting the deputy, the voice of these bigots was unheard. Once more a favorable moment arrived for the Catholics. His majesty was in need of money; while on the other hand the Irish parliament was unwilling to grant any subsidies, unless the claims of the Catholics were acknowledged. The viceroy was equal to the emergency; it cost little to promise, and so he made the most satisfac-

tory assurances. The subsidies were voted, and the parliament granted ten times the amount expected from it; for all that the viceroy had hoped for was £30,000, whereas the nation agreed to give £300,000—a most liberal and munificent sum considering the value of money at that date and the very impoverished state of the country at the time. Such generous dealing with the monarch, one would imagine, ought to have evoked the gratitude of the government and have earned for the Irish a larger installment of liberty than they had courage to demand. But on the contrary, the very concessions agreed to by the viceroy, after the subsidy was obtained, were refused to be granted on the ground of his majesty not being bound "in justice, honor and conscience" to the Irish! Such was the faith of England. A man who could thus basely deceive a whole people, might be credited with any intolerance and perfidy however atrocious. We are not, accordingly, astonished to learn that Wentworth now contemplated the wholesale destruction of the Irish race. During the preceding reign the province of Ulster, as we have seen, was confiscated by the crown and handed over to Scotch and English adventurers of the lowest class. The three other provinces of the nation were now marked out for a like fate. To preserve a legal coloring of justice, a court of high commission was appointed having for its object the examination of titles; but in every instance the jurors were understood to be required to decide in favor of the crown. And whenever the latter, from motives of conscience refused to comply, they were fined, pilloried, mutilated, branded with a red-hot iron, and their tongues bored through! Thus the Catholics of Ireland were more bitterly persecuted at the end than at the beginning of Charles's reign. If they were not wholly exterminated, it was owing to a special interposition of providence.

CHAPTER V.

CROMWELL LANDS IN IRELAND—HE GOES TO DROGHEDA—HIS EXCESSES AND BRUTALITY THERE—HE CAPTURES WEXFORD, CORK, KILKENNY, ETC—WATERFORD AND LIMERICK DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES BY THEIR RESISTANCE—THE VICTORIOUS ENEMY PERPETRATES THE MOST SHAMEFUL EXCESSES—THE IRISH TROOPS TO THE NUMBER OF 40,000 LEAVE THE COUNTRY—HUNDREDS OF PRIESTS PUT TO DEATH—THE LAND OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY PARCELLED OUT AMONGST CROMWELL'S TROOPS—THE IRISH SOLD INTO SLAVERY AND BANISHED—FAILURE OF ALL THESE MEANS TO ROB THE IRISH OF THEIR FAITH—CROMWELL DIES—CHARLES II. MOUNTS THE THRONE—MOMENTARY HOPE FOR THE CATHOLICS—JAMES II. SUCCEEDS HIM.

We have seen in the last chapter what the Catholics of Ireland endured for the faith from the time of Henry VIII. till the death of Charles I. Still greater afflictions awaited them in the immediate future. In 1649, Cromwell landed in Ireland: his avowed intention was to extirpate the Irish race, and it must be acknowledged that, humanly speaking, he took the most effectual means of accomplishing his purpose. If he did not succeed, it was not because he did not use his utmost endeavors, but because the special providence of God was ever watching over the Irish nation.

On landing in the country, Cromwell first directed his attention to Drogheda. His address to his troops was to the effect that no quarter should be shown to the Irish and that they should be treated as were the Canaanites of old in the days of Joshua. It did not require much persuasion or effort on the part of the leader to inspire the men under his command with sentiments similar to his own, for they were all of the same type and character as himself—Puritan in faith and alien in race. Drogheda was at the time garrisoned

by a force of 3000 men uuder the command of Sir Arthur Ashton. Cromwell had under his command more than three times that number. The town was assailed, and breaches made in the walls, but still the defenders held their ground. Three times did they repel their assailants, but when it became evident that they were going to be overpowered by superior numbers, then and only then did they agree to yield on the stipulated agreement of not being molested—of receiving quarter on laying down their arms. The promise, however, was made by men of whom it has been well said that they knew neither how to keep faith nor to show mercy. Immediately that the garrison had parted with their arms, the men were subjected to an indiscriminate slaughter. For five days, the bloody work continued, during which neither age nor sex was spared. Nothing in the whole history of warfare could adequately compare with the horrible brutality perpetrated on the occassion. Even Cromwell exceeded himself, according to the testimony of the Earl of Ormond, in "breach of faith and bloody inhumanity." In the general alarm, numbers of the affrighted inhabitants took refuge in the principal church, hoping that the sacredness of the place would secure them against the fury of their enemies. But in this they were entirely mistaken, for men who hated their faith were not to be restrained by the presence of religion. Pursuing their victims, accordingly, into the temple of God, the Puritan soldiers slew the defenceless Catholics, before the altar of the Lord, to the number of one thousand or more. As to the actual number that perished in the general massacre it would be difficult to offer an opinion. All that is accurately known is, that mercy was shown to none What renders the proceeding utterly dishonorable and atrocious for the nation in whose name and in behalf of whose interests it was perpetrated, is the fact that it was not only not disavowed, but

even endorsed by the parliament of England. For no sooner was the news of the general massacre made known in London, than a vote of thanks was passed by the legislature to Cromwell, and a day of general thanksgiving ordered to be kept by the nation! Thus England rejoiced and thanked the Lord for the slaughter of the Irish!

From Drogheda, Cromwell proceeded to Wexford, where the same scenes were repeated. The number of the garrison slaughtered in this latter place amounted, according to Cromwell's own computation, to 2000. This, however, does not include those who perished in the general massacre, the number of whom was immense, as we may learn from the following brief sentence of Father St. Leger, who in detailing the horrors of the occasion sums up all by saying, "On the city being taken Cromwell *exterminated* the citizens by the sword." More vivid still and impressive, are the words of Dr. French, who also lived at the time and wrote from a personal knowledge. "On that most lamentable day, my native city of Wexford, abounding in wealth, ships, and merchandize, was destroyed by the sword, and given a prey to the infuriated soldiery, by Cromwell, that English pest of hell. There, before God's altar, fell many sacred victims, holy priests of the Lord: others who were seized outside the precints of the church, were scourged with whips: others were hanged, some were arrested and bound with chains, and others were put to death by *various most cruel tortures.* The best blood of the citizens was shed; the very squares were *inundated with it* and there was scarcely a house that was *not defiled with carnage and full of wailing.*" Thus through every quarter of the city, in almost every dwelling of the same, the sword of the persecutor was plunged into the breast of the defenseless victim. But the place where the greatest carnage occurred, was probably, the common square or market-place. There

around the foot of the great cross, which the piety of the people had erected, gathered an immense concourse of persons, of whom about 300 were females. The defenseless condition of that vast body kneeling helplessly before the symbol of man's salvation, and appealing piteously to the sympathy and Christian benevolence of the conquerors, would have moved to compassion the heart of any invader, but that of Cromwell. But that cruel monster had sworn to give no quarter; he had resolved upon exterminating the Irish, and this was one of the ways in which he expected to accomplish his purpose. The market-place of Wexford was, accordingly, deluged with the blood of the multitude—all were indiscriminately put to the sword! The spirit of ferocity thus exhibited by the commander naturally communicated itself to those under his command. Hence we are not astonished to learn that a certain general Cooke, emulating the brutality of his superior officer, even outstripped him in barbarity by burning to death 600 persons, children and adults whom he had enclosed in a dwelling.

The capture of Drogheda and Wexford by the Puritans army and the horrible massacre of the defenseless inhabitants in those cities, as we have seen, paralyzed the Irish people and prevented many of the smaller towns from offering any practical resistance. Several others were placed in the hands of the enemy, through the treachery of the officers in command. In every instance, however, the inhabitants showed the most determined resolution not to abandon their holy faith. The conduct of the people of Cork, is pre-eminently noteworthy in this. After the Puritan army had taken possession of the city, the Catholics were called upon to abjure their religion. A refusal to comply with this impious demand, was to be followed by expulsion and the confiscation of all their possessions. The day was

fixed for their departure or apostasy ; but, most glorious to relate, not one in that entire city was found unworthy of his God. All preferred abandoning their homes to abandoning their religion. The whole population, accordingly, old and young and infirm went forth from their native walls, in obedience to the dictates of conscience and ready to part with everything rather their holy religion. In the whole history of the Church of God ,there is not, perhaps, a more touching and glorious instance of a people's constancy and adherence to the faith of Christ, than that. It was truly a spectacle worthy to be regarded with pleasure by God and man—the inhabitants of an entire city, to an individual, going forth and abandoning everything, rather than the faith of Christ!

After the capture of Drogheda, Wexford, and Cork, the other important provincial towns, such as Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, fell successively into the hands of the enemy and were dishonored by like barbarities, such as we have already related. In all these towns, the inhabitants were put to the sword, the churches desecrated, and the private dwellings pillaged. But it was not without an effort and a determined resistence on the part of the besieged, that the Puritan army succeeded in every instance. Amongst the places that offered the boldest and most heroic resistance, Waterford stands pre-eminently conspicuous. Nor was it till assailed by the triple force of famine, pestilence, and the sword, that the inhabitants yielded. For a quarter of a year, the besieged held out with the most admirable bravery, repelling every assault and rejecting every offer made by the enemy. The most liberal conditions, indeed, were offered to them, including the free exercise of their holy religion, but they knew the bad faith of the man who made them, and how little it would cost him to violate the most solemn engagements. In this respect, the fate of

their brethren in Drogheda, Kilkenny, and Ross, taught them a lesson that they could never forget. Hence their determination to conquer or perish in the defense of their city. In fine, after a protracted siege of three months, the enemy retired. But the besieged were, by this time virtually conquered; disease had done the work—the pestilence which raged within the walls had reduced the garrison from several thousands to merely a few hundred, so that when the enemy returned after the lapse of some weeks, he experienced little or no difficulty in capturing the place. As in Cork, all the inhabitants were driven out of the city, deprived of their houses and lands, and made wanderers over the face of the country. Of the deplorable state of the inhabitants at that juncture the following may convey to the mind of the reader a tolerable idea: "War and pestilence have laid waste the whole country; our churches and altars are profaned and transformed into stables, or barracks, or hospitals: no longer is the holy sacrifice offered up, nor the divine word preached, nor the holy sacrament administered; the ecclesiastics who were spared by the plague have been sent into banishment; the pestilence swept away five thousand of the citizens and soldiery, and yet continues its havoc there."

Waterford was not the only town that distinguished itself by a bold and determined resistance. Limerick became alike remarkable; its generous citizens determined to conquer or perish. "We shall either restore the Catholic religion in all its splendor," wrote the bishop of that see, prior to the arrival of Cromwell, "or we shall perish to a man." How truthfully the bishop spoke on behalf of the people, the sequel of that city's suffering abundantly demonstrates. Towards the close of 1651, Ireton besieged the city. After battering down the walls in different directions, he made repeated assaults, but with similar results, being uniformly

repulsed, and with very considerable loss. Treachery at last accomplished what force of arms was unable to do. Fennell, an officer in charge of one of the gates, admitted the enemy by night and put the city in his possession. This practically ended the struggle; on the following day the garrison amounting to 2,500 men laid down their arms and marched out of the gates. Those of the citizens who were not put to the sword, were driven forth from the city, as in the case of the inhabitants of Cork and Waterford. The sufferings of the Catholics in the other towns and strongholds which subsequently fell into the hands of the Puritan leaders, differed but little if anything from those we have already described. Every-where the same reckless disregard for human life, the same brutal, intolerant treatment of the vanquished, and the same implacable hatred of everything sacred, characterized the progress and proceedings of the persecutors. In every instance, indeed, it is true, the inhabitants were not presently put to the sword or driven forth from their homes, as in the case of the Catholics of Cork and Kilkenny; but measures were taken against them which virtually amounted to an expulsion from their dwellings. Thus in the case of the people of Galway, a weekly assessment was levied upon all, and whenever any was found unable to meet the demand, the soldiers detailed for that purpose seized upon whatever remained. Numbers in consequence quitted their homes, unable to meet the enormous and exorbitant tax, and taking advantage of this, the agents of government immediately confiscated their dwellings. A little later, on the 23rd of July, 1655, a more sweeping measure was employed, for at that date an order was given, commanding all to quit the town by the 1st of November. Punctually at the date specified, all excepting the sick and infirm, were

ruthlessly driven forth, and, that the measure of iniquity might be completed, the thanks of the government were tended to the commander who exercised this intolerant act, accompanied with a request that, as soon as it were possible, the sick and infirm might also be made to depart. What rendered this act of inhuman brutality doubly atrocious was the fact, that it was done in violation of a most solemn engagement made to the inhabitants, that they should not be molested. For this we have the testimony of the author of Cambrensis Eversus, when he says: "The commander of the besieging army was not a man of ordinary rank, but Charles Coote himself. . . . From him the besieged extorted honorable conditions. . . . . But the men appointed to the chief government of Ireland by the parliament, refused to ratify these conditions." Thus treachery and bad faith, in almost every instance, attended the proceedings of the persecutors.

The time had now arrived when the poor, afflicted Catholics had to encounter a triple enemy—the sword, famine, and pestilence. The two latter were the natural concomitants of the former. The whole country being laid waste by fire and sword, agriculture being suspended, and the cattle destroyed, famine accordingly followed in the footsteps of the destroyers, and from famine was begotten the plague. Nor were the latter the unavoidable evils resulting from a war, having for its object the destruction of a people, but on the contrary as far at least as the first was concerned, they were the agents that were sought for and invoked for the accomplishment of the end intended by the oppressors. To starve the Irish into a renunciation of their holy faith was the diabolical intention of the government and leaders of that day. It was urged and advocated publicly, too, by the leading men of the time, such as Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, and others. Nor were their

suggestions unheed, for acting upon the barbarous advice, sickles and scythes were distributed to the soldiers, for the purpose of destroying the little corn that might anywhere be met with in the country. Thus deprived by this inhuman and most barbarous mode of warfare, of the ordinary means of existence, the remnant of the population still existing, were driven by the direst necessity to devour the most unwholesome food, the necessary and natural consequence of which was the engendering an epidemic of the most frightful proportions. The deplorable condition to which the country was reduced in consequence, is thus described by Lawrence: "About the year 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had so swept away whole counties, that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature, either man, beast or bird, they being either all dead, or had quit the desolate places. Our soldiers would tell stories of the places where they saw smoke, it was so rare to see either smoke by day or fire or candle by night. And when we did meet with two or three poor cabins, none but very aged men with women and children, and those like the prophet might have complained. 'We are become as a bottle in the smoke; our skin is black like an oven, because of the terrible famine.' I have seen those miserable creatures plucking stinking carrion out of a ditch, black and rotten, and been credibly informed that they digged corpses out of the grave to eat." Prendergast gives an equally vivid and heart-rending account of the deplorable condition to which the country was reduced at that time. "Ireland," says he, "now lay void as a wilderness. Five-sixths of her people had perished, women and children were found daily perishing in the ditches, starved. The bodies of many wandering orphans, whose fathers had embarked for Spain, and whose mothers had died of famine, were preyed upon by the wolves. In the years 1652

and 1653, the plague and famine had swept away whole counties, so that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature. Man, beast and bird were all dead, or had quit those desolate places." Thus by the three-fold agency, of the sword, the famine, and the plague, the country was reduced to the utmost extreme of desolation. Those who escaped the destructive power of the Puritans, fell victims in most instances either to famine or pestilence. By the latter, thousands perished miserably all over the country. Hardiman in his history of Galway, says: "The surrender of the city was followed by a famine throughout the county, by which multitudes perished. This was again succeeded by a plague, which carried off thousands both in the town and the surrounding districts, so that the severest vengeance of heaven seemed now to have been poured down upon the heads of this devoted community." The same terrible ravages were made by this awful scourge in other parts of the country, the number of victims in some of the towns, such as in Waterford, being as many as five thousand, while in Dublin they reached the enormous figure of 30,000.

By the year 1652, all Ireland was completely subdued; it lay a bleeding victim at the feet of its relentless oppressor. The churches were every-where desecrated, the altars overturned, and the holy sacrifice of the mass suspended, except when offered in secret and by stealth. The greater part of the people, as we have seen, had perished, and the entire country was become a desolate wilderness. The extreme to which the persecutors were carried in their blind hatred of everything Catholic, is best told in the language of a contemporary writer. "Ireland being entirely subjugated and scourged by God with pestilence, famine, and the sword," says Bruodin, "the churches were everywhere profaned, the altars overturned, the sacred images

broken to atoms, the crosses trampled under foot, the priests banished or led to the scaffold. . . . and no words can express how many and how great were the evils which the Catholics that survived, were compelled to endure."

Deplorable as was the condition of affairs detailed in the foregoing, it does not represent the state of the country in its utmost distress. An impediment, though must be acknowledged only a trifling one, now stood in the way of the Puritan persecutors. That was the army of Ireland, which still numbered some thousand of troops. To rid themselves of the presence of these so that they might be no longer impeded in their iniquitous purpose of exterminating the Irish, was the earnest desire of the parliamentary commanders. The project was one that was pre-eminently worthy of its authors. The Irish troops were either too disheartened or too indifferent under the circumstances, regarding the ultimate fate of their country, and in the then condition of affairs were only too happy to be able to accept an honorable service in a foreign land. In this manner 40,000 Irish soldiers were got out of the island, being drafted into the armies of Spain, Belgium, and France. The persecutors becoming in consequence complete masters of the situation and having no longer any thing to fear from the presence of an opposing force, issued a series of edicts worthy of the worst days of the pagan Roman rulers. By the first, which was issued in the beginning of 1653, all the ecclesiastics in Ireland were commanded under the pain of death to abandon the country within twenty days. Whoever contravened this injuction was to be hanged, beheaded, emboweled, and burned; his head set on a spike and exposed in a public place! The penalty of death was also threatened against all who should harbor a priest after the time specified for their departure from the country had elapsed. It is needless to say that the impious enactments

were unheeded by the faithful clergy, but in order to avoid compromising their flock they had to retire to the wildest and most inaccessible places in the woods and the mountains. The caverns and mountain fastnesses, accordingly, became their accustomed places of retreat, whence at regular intervals and by stealth, in the dead of night or disguised as laymen, they emerged in order to minister to the wants of their afflicted brethren. Yet with all their caution and prudence, numbers fell victims to their admirable zeal, as many as 300 having been captured and put to death by the sword or on the scaffold, To discover the retreats of those who remained at large, a regular corps of spies and informers was maintained by government, and for the double purpose of exciting the cupidity of the malevolent and of expressing the contempt of the authorities for the person and office of the priest a similar reward (five pounds) was offered alike for the capture of a priest and the capture of a wolf! The consequence of those extraordinary measures for detecting the clergy was, that only comparatively few were enabled to elude the vigilance of the authorities. The prisons were filled with them, the scaffold ran red with their blood, the slave dealers of the Indies obtained possession of many; while by a particular clemency of the authorities the great bulk of the captured were permitted to abandon the country. "Of the priests who did remain in the country," says Dr Lynch, "after the appointed day, some were executed, others wasted away their life in the tedious and loathsome horrors of a dungeon, others are still barred up in prisons; some were banished to the remote isle of Innisboffin, and delivered in charge to the garrison who tortured them with great cruelty. Many were banished to the West Indies where they were sold as slaves and condemned to work in twisting tobacco and other slave-labor. The magistrates prided themselves on what they considered extraordinary

lenity in allowing a great number of priests to escape from their talons to different Catholic countries of Europe."

The perils and sufferings of those who escaped and managed to live in the country, despite all the efforts of government, are thus very touchingly and affectingly described by one of the number. "We live for the most part in the mountains and forests and often, too, in the midst of bogs, to escape the cavalry of the heretics. One priest, advanced in years, Father John Carolan, was so diligently sought for and so closely watched, being surrounded on all sides and yet not discovered, that at length *he died of starvation.* Another, Father Christopher Netterville, like St Athanasius, for an entire year and more lay hid in his father's sepulchre; and even thence, with difficulty escaping the pursuit of the enemy, he had to fly to a still more incommodious retreat, one which was concealed in a deep pit, from which he at intervals went forth on some mission of charity. The heretics having received information as to his hiding-place rushed to it, and throwing down immense blocks of rock, exulted in his destruction. But providence watched over the good Father and he was absent engaged in some pious work of his sacred ministry when his retreat was thus assailed. As the holy sacrifice cannot be offered up in these receptacles of beasts rather than of men, all the clergy carry with them a sufficient number of consecrated hosts, that thus they themselves may be comforted by this holy sacrament, and they may be able to administer it to the sick and to others."

The difficulty thus experienced of capturing all the clergy, it was that dictated the following brutal edict issued at that time: "If any one shall know where a priest remains concealed in caves, woods, or caverns, or if by any chance he should meet a priest on the highway and not immediately take him into custody and present him before the next magistrate, such person is to be considered a traitor

and an enemy to the republic. He is, accordingly, to be cast into prison, flogged through the public streets and afterwards have his ears cut off. But should it appear that he kept up any correspondence or friendship with a priest he is to suffer death." Despite this and much of a similar nature, several faithful priests remained at their posts, ministering at the peril of their lives to the spiritual wants of their flocks, the number of such clergy being in the archdiocese of Tuam, in 1658, as many as 150!

The clergy, as we have seen, being in great part either banished from the country, in prison, or executed, the persecutors next directed their efforts to the perversion of the laity. To this end statutes were enacted and edicts issued, which for cold-blooded atrocity and inhuman brutality, exceeded anything to be encountered in the history of the world. After confiscating five millions of acres and parcelling them out amongst the Puritan troops, an order was issued commanding the Catholics of the country under the penalty of the loss of two thirds of their property, to abandon their holy religion. Baser and more inhuman still, was the enactment empowering the magistrates of the country to seize upon the children of Catholics and to have them deported to England for the purpose of being educated in the Protestant faith. But as if to crown the legal infamy of the moment, it was enacted that all the Irish above fourteen years of age were the *property* of the state to be employed on sea or land as the government desired!

One device more remained to the persecutors to shake the constancy of the Catholics, or to exterminate them. That was to starve them by wholesale. The sword, as we have seen, had been vigorously employed, famine had been evoked and did its terrible work, so did pestilence, and yet the Catholics were still in existence—they were

not wholly exterminated. To accomplish this a new experiment had to be tried. It was nothing short of crowding them into a narrow compass and there detaining them till they perished of want. A more brutal idea never occurred to the mind of any exterminator. It was preëminently the most barbarous ever conceived. To starve an entire nation to death was inhuman beyond all bounds. But the persecutors had resolved upon the destruction of the Irish; Cromwell had sworn to exterminate them, and if it had to be done even in this way, he was ready for the emergency. Accordingly, a part of the country was selected, the most barren and desolate that could be imagined, and thither the Irish were required to repair under penalty of death. The district destined for their reception, was not, as is popularly believed, the province Connaught, but the barren and desolate parts thereof, the Puritan persecutors retaining for themselves all that was valuable. Driven into that desolate region in the depth of winter, without houses or provisions, it was thought certain that all would inevitably perish. The act for this brutal and cold-blooded wholesale destruction of a people, passed the legislature on the 26th of September, 1653. By the provisions of that act, the most shameful and intolerant ever enacted by any people, all the Irish in Leinster, Ulster and Munster, except such as were married to Protestants, and boys and girls under fourteen and those in Protestant service as also those who had been on the side of the parliament, were required to repair to their places of destination in Connaught by the 1st of May, 1654. The servants, who were excepted from the general order as well as the laborers whose presence was needed for the wants of their alien oppressors, were by a subsequent enactment required to become Protestant within a period of six months, their children also to be educated in that faith.

Meantime the land of the entire country, from which the Catholics were being driven by wholesale, was parcelled out among their oppressors, as a reward for their services in exterminating the Irish. To those who advanced money for the work of transplanting, land to the extent of ten counties was assigned. All the ecclesiastical lands and revenues were handed over to the regicides, and to the more active English rebels, while the remainder of the island was given to the officers and soldiers in lieu of their claims, while serving in the war, and which amounted in the aggregate to £3,300,000. As is natural to suppose, numbers of the Catholics refused to comply with the iniquitous order, preferring to die in presence of their cherished homes, rather than in those wild and desolate regions whither their cruel oppressors were trying to banish them. The consequence of their resistance was that troops were detailed by the government to scour the country in every direction and to drag the unwilling from their retreats. The gaols were, accordingly, filled with victims, until they were unable to receive any more. Of the captured, some were hanged, some driven to Connaught, and some forwarded as slaves to the Indies! "Whole towns," says the writer from whom we have already quoted; "are transported to the Barbadoes; many persons through sadness and terror ran through the country insane; houses are seen empty, a prey to any one who may wish to enter them. Virgins are insulted, children are murdered, crowds of the natives are carried off into exile! O how sad a spectacle!"

The condition of those driven into the region assigned them by the government in Conaught, was deplorable beyond description. Numbers, as was anticipated and longed for, died, of hunger and cold; others perished from pestilence, while others again, thanks to that ever-watchful care of divine providence, outlived the ter-

rible ordeal and baffled all the power of their enemies to destroy or pervert them. From these it is that the Catholic faith has been saved and handed down to this day in that land. But at what risk and suffering to themselves, the reader may judge from the following extract: "Thousands," says De Burgo, "perished of cold and hunger; many flung themselves from precipices, and into lakes and rivers, death being the last refuge from such direful calamities."

The condition of those banished to Barbadoes was in nothing better, but if possible worse, than that of those driven into Connaught. It was something at least to be allowed to live and die on one's native soil. Better surely to perish of want in the land of one's sires, than to sink under the lash of the slave-dealer in a tropical zone. How it fared with the unfortunates who were banished and sold as slaves, the reader may form an idea from this. "They banished," says the author of Cambrensis Eversus, "to the remotest depths of the Indies, crowds of old men and youths, great numbers of matrons and virgins, that the former might toil in hard slavery, and the latter support themselves by prostitution. Our enemies are more cruel than Ælius Adrianus himself; for if he has justly been stigmatized as atrociously cruel, for prohibiting under penalty of death any citizen of Jerusalem from coming within sight of his native walls, what foul stigma can adequately express the guilt of the monsters who banish men not from the sight of one city alone, but from every part of their native land."

Nor was it enough to banish these unhappy victims to those distant regions, but even thither the malice of the persecutors pursued them, and when everymeans failed to deprive them of their holy faith, they massacred them by wholesale. "The heretics seeing that matters were pros-

pering with the Irish in the island of St. Christopher, and being excited partly by hatred of the Catholic religion, seized in one night and bound with chains, three hundred of the principal Irish that were there and carried them off to a desert island, which was wholly destitute of all the necessaries of life, that then they might inevitably *perish from cold and starvation.* This was, alas! too sadly realized in all excepting two, who, through despair, cast themselves into the sea, resolving to risk their lives rather on the waves than on the barren rocks. One of these soon perished, and the other reached the mainland, bearing the sad intelligence of the dreadful fate of his companions." Thus the hatred of religion caused the persecutors to pursue the unhappy Irish across the seas and to perpetrate the horrible barbarity just mentioned.

The number of Irish sold into slavery at this time, cannot be accurately given. It has been variously estimated, some placing it as high as a hundred thousand! A letter written in 1656, gave the probable number at that date at 60,000. "The Catholics," says the writer, "are sent off in shipfulls to Barbadoes and other American islands I believe sixty thousand have already gone; for the husbands being first sent to Spain and Belgium already, their wives and children are now destined for the Americas." To capture the poor people and thus effect its purpose, government had paid agents scattered every-where through the country, whose business it was to seize women, children, and paupers, to the end that they might be conveyed to the nearest sea-port and transported to their destination in the Indies. Orders were also given to the governors of garrisons, the keepers of gaols and the masters of workhouses to deliver their respective charges into the hands of the agents of the planters, that thus they might be conducted to the Indies. "While the government," writes Mr Pren-

dergast, " were employed in clearing the ground for the adventurers and soldiers, they had agents actively employed through Ireland seizing women, orphans and the destitute to be transported to Barbadoes and the English plantation in America. . . . Just as the king of Spain sent over his agents to treat with the government for the Irish swordsmen, the merchants of Bristol had agents treating with it for men, women, and girls to be sent to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. The commissioners for Ireland gave them orders upon the governors of garrisons to deliver to them prisoners of war ; upon the keepers of gaols, for offenders in custody ; upon masters of workhouses, for the destitute in their care ; and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livelihood and deliver them to those agents of the Bristol sugar merchants, in the execution of which latter direction Ireland must have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave hunts in Africa."

And what, it might be asked, was the result of all this horrible barbarity and atrocity? Were the Irish exterminated and their religion abolished? Far from it. After all the efforts made by their enemies to extirpate them from the land, there yet remained in the country to the number of half a million, to be swelled in subsequent years to ten times that number ; while as regards the efforts made to abolish the faith, not one in a thousand was found to be false to his conscience. O happy Island of Saints! Which of all other nations hast shown such unswerving fidelity to the cause of divine truth and hast not been dishonored by any considerable number of apostates?

The Catholic Irish having been removed, as we have seen, hordes of heretical invaders poured into the country and took possession of the forfeited land. There was then none to oppose them. The Irish were in their graves, in

Barbadoes and Connaught; but yet an enemy far more powerful than any ever encountered on battle-plain, contested with the invaders their right to be in the country. That was the avenging angel of God. A distemper of a most horrible character, in which the bodies of the victims were turned into corruption, whence emanated swarms of vermin, broke out at this time and carried off to the number of 180,000 of the 200,000 adventurers who had then settled in the country. "They were not as yet three months in Ireland," says the author of the Relatio Rerum Quarumdam, "when the most fetid vermin crawled forth from their bodies in such swarms that their hair, their beard, and garments were covered with them, so that they could not appear in public through shame, nor could they anywhere find rest; and what increased the wonder, though their beds and rooms were filled with this pest, yet the contagion did not spread to the neighboring Irish, nor did it even touch the Irish servants of those who were infected with it, not one of whom is known to have suffered from this disease. It was confined to the strangers alone, and by that disease and in other ways, God so humbled their pride, that from 1641 to 1650 more than 180,000 English in various parts of Ireland were carried away, not so much slain in war as destroyed by this Herodean disease and other plagues."

Cromwell died in 1658. This event relieved Ireland of her most irreconcilable enemy. From that date, the country was not deluged so freely in blood, there were not such hecatombs of victims in the future as in the past; but still the unhappy Catholics continued to be ground down to the dust. The restoration of Charles II., in 1660, brought them a momentary hope. The new monarch while in the character of Pretender, had made the most favorable promises. It was stipulated by him that the Catholic

religion should not be molested, that it should be entirely free, and that the penal enactments should be abolished. It is true that in Scotland he made promises of an entirely contrary nature; but yet the Catholics were willing to hope that his original assurances would be kept, at least in part, and that religion would not be entirely proscribed. Whatever may have been their hopes in this respect, they were not kept long in suspense, for no sooner did Charles find himself firmly seated on the throne, than he openly avowed his determination not to abide by the promise made to the Irish, for that "he was convinced in his conscience of its sinfulness and unlawfulness . . . for which he desired from his heart to be humbled before the Lord, and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the restoring of him to his throne."

We are not, accordingly, to be astonished that the prisons continued to be filled with victims, and that it was at the peril of their lives that the ministers of religion discharged their religious obligations. As many, indeed, did not die on the scaffold during this reign as during the Commonwealth, but their sufferings and trials were hardly less severe. A quick martyrdom is preferable to a slow and painful one. To die on the scaffold, is surely more applicable than to perish in a dungeon, and that this was the fate of many we have the most satisfactory evidence, "not less than one hundred and twenty of these heroic confessors, being sometimes put into the same loathsome gaol, there to pine away and starve together." It was during this reign that Dr. De Burgo, vicar-apostolic of Killala, was thrown into prison on the charge of converting Protestants to the Catholic faith, and kept in close confinement in irons for the space of two whole years. He was offered by his tempters a bishopric in the Protestant church, if he renounced his allegiance to the vicar of

Christ. But it is needless to say that he indignantly rejected the unworthy proposal. Through the efforts of his relative the Earl of Clanricarde, he finally obtained his release, but on the condition of his paying a large pecuniary fine and leaving the country within the space of one month. Less fortunate, at least in a wordly sense, was Dr. Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, who in like manner was cast into prison, and there ended his days, dying a veritable martyr's death. "At length," says his biographer, Dr. Richard Arsdekin, S. J., "after enduring various and repeated tortures, he suffered death, not indeed beneath the axe of the executioner, but immured in a filthy prison, and he passed to that better world where God has promised a crown of justice to those who strive lawfully." * A similar death awaited the Right Rev. Peter Creagh, bishop of Cork, had not the special intervention of heaven prevented it. After evading the vigilance of his enemies for the space of two years, during which time he abode in the most retired localities, he was finally apprehended and put on his trial in Cork. A list of pretended crimes was charged against him, and there were not wanting unhappy wretches to substantiate these by their most solemn asseverations. But the God of Justice was ready to smite the guilty, and to attest the innocence of his holy servant. The moment was one of intense interest, when the principal witness stepped forward and proceeded to give his testimony. After alleging against the venerable prelate manifold crimes, the impious man had the daring and effrontery to challenge the Almighty to smite him with the vengeance of heaven if what he asserted were not the truth. God accepted the issue; his almighty arm smote the culprit, for at that very moment the floor of the court-house gave way and the man who invoked the testimony of heaven in behalf of the

* O'Reilly's Martyrs, p. 379.

truth of his assertions was crushed to death by the fall. The judge and the accused, alone, remained in their places, the seat occupied by the former being sustained by an iron bar, and that of the latter remaining resting on a beam which had not given way. The incident was so striking and impressive, that the judge immediately declared that heaven itself had acquitted the bishop, and he, accordingly, dismissed the venerable prelate with honors.*

No interposition of divine providence, however manifest, was sufficient to open the eyes of the malevolent, and to shield from their malice the priests and prelates of the Church. This was very clearly evinced in the case of the illustrious archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Oliver Plunket, who was condemned and executed without being afforded the time necessary to summon testimony to establish his innocence.

Upon the death of Charles, in 1685, his brother ascended the throne under the title of James II. Being an avowed Catholic and a friend of religious liberty, no one dared to think of enforcing the penal enactments, and accordingly they became, though unrepealed, entirely inoperative. Thus the country once more obtained a moment of peace. But it was only, as it were, for an instant, for James' weak and unskilful career put the country again into the hands of an enemy of the Catholic cause. Upon the surrender of Limerick, William became virtually the king of Great Britain and Ireland. From that date, till the accession of the present queen, Victoria, in 1837, Ireland was made to suffer from a series of enactments, the most barbarous and indefensible that have ever been framed by savage or civilized rulers. In 1697, an act was passed "for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever in Ireland, before the first of May 1698, and if found

* O'Reilly's martyrs, p. 430.

there after that date, to be imprisoned during pleasure without bail and then transported for life; that, in the meantime, no archbishop, bishop, vicar, etc., should ever land in Ireland from abroad, after the 29th December 1697, under pain of a year's incarceration and then perpetual banishment; and that if any archbishop, etc., should in either case return from banishment, he should be judged guilty of high-treason and die the death of a traitor." It was further provided that harboring or concealing those mentioned in the act should be punishable by a fine of £20 for the first offense, £40 for the second, and a confiscation of all one's goods, for the third. The immediate consequence of this iniquitous measure was the dispersion of the clergy and their deportation in numbers from the country. The regulars were more easily apprehended than the seculars, and of the 495 then employed in Ireland, 425 fell into the hands of the authorities and were shipped from different ports for foreign parts. How many of the seculars shared a like fate is not known; but from the few whose cases are mentioned, it would seem that their number was exceedingly small and that the vast majority managed to secrete themselves.

The object aimed at in the expatriation of the clergy, must be plain to the dullest mind: it was the destruction of the Catholic faith. It was attempting to do, but in a different way, what was tried under Elizabeth, James, and the Commonwealth. During those periods the sword was employed to detach men from their religion, but now it was the dungeon and exile. In both instances, however, the object was the same, "which was," says Mr. Leckey, "the extirpation of the religion of about four-fifths of the Irish people." *

The law commanding the banishment of the clergy from

* Hist. of England, Lecky, vol. ii., p. 217.

the country having proved ineffectual, another device was now found of necessity, if the object contemplated had to be attained. That was the first of the two famous "ferocious" enactments made in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne, A. D. 1704. Its name, indeed, sufficiently indicated its character, for it was entitled an act to prevent the further growth of popery. The provisions of this document are amongst the most intolerant ever penned by man. It was wholly in violation of the treaty of Limerick, for, while that memorable document guaranteed to the Catholics the free exercise of their religion, the enactment in question forbade it. By the one, the Catholics were at liberty to profess their holy faith, but by the other, they were rendered culpable if they did so. By the treaty of Limerick, the Catholics were assured of their political rights, to the extent of being left in the enjoyment of the franchise, of being capable of inheriting, purchasing, and selling landed estates. And in fine, by the treaty of Limerick, the Catholics of Ireland were recognized as subjects of the monarch of England. But by the statutes of Anne they were degraded from the position of subjects to the condition of slaves, without rights or privileges of any sort. In the fourth year of the reign of Anne, when it was found impossible to capture all the clergy, who at the risk of their lives remained in the country and ministered to the wants of their sadly afflicted brethren, an order was issued by the authorities requiring the priests then in the island to register their names before a certain date, and promising protection in case of compliance. The object of this apparent act of clemency was not known till a few years later, when, in 1710, all who complied with the government's demands, and registered their names on the promise of not being molested, were ordered to present themselves at their respective quarter-sessions, and to take the oath of abjuration under

the penalty of transportation during the period of their natural lives, and a felon's death in case they returned. A standing bribe for apostasy was also, at the same time, held out by the government, a pension of £30 for life being granted to the priest who would take the proffered oath. Government still finding itself unable to accomplish its purpose in the manner designed, now employed an agency unworthy of the most barbarous race. That was the corps of government informers, commonly designated *priest-hunters.* The business of these degraded, infamous creatures was to track the faithful clergy to their lonely retreats and secret abodes, and to drag them thence to be immured in filthy dungeons, or deported from the country as criminals and outlaws. To the honor of the Irish people it is to be recorded that this infamous office was regarded universally with feelings of horror and abomination, and that on the list of the priest-hunters hardly a genuine Irish name is to be found, those engaged in the work being wholly or almost entirely soldiers belonging to the English army.

The same intolerant hatred of the Catholic faith, that manifested itself in the legislation of Great Britain towards Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne, continued to mark the reigns of the first three Georges, down to 1745, when for the first time a relaxation of the penal enactments was experienced by the oppressed. Meantime, the one object of destroying the Catholic faith in the country was kept constantly before the mind of the government. To this end laws were framed and enactments made, which for rigor, severity, and inhumanity stand unsurpassed in the world. All, however, failed in the object intended. Ireland remained Catholic, and to-day, looking back through three centuries of oppression, she can enjoy the proud consciousness of having fought a nobler fight in preserving the faith of Christ than any other country on the face of the globe.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY VIII. ATTEMPTS TO PERVERT THE FAITH OF SCOTLAND—JAMES V. IS FIRM IN HIS ALLEGIANCE TO ROME—HENRY HAS RECOURSE TO VIOLENCE AND AIDS THE DISCONTENTED NOBLES—HE INVADES SCOTLAND—JAMES IS VICTORIOUS—COWARDICE OF HIS NOBLES—HE DIES OF CHAGRIN—THE CROWN LEFT TO HIS INFANT DAUGHTER—CARDINAL BEATON APPOINTED REGENT—HIS ASSASSINATION—CONSPIRACY OF THE NOBLES TO HAND OVER THEIR COUNTRY TO ENGLAND—ELIZABETH COMES TO THE THRONE—KNOX AND HIS FOLLOWERS PATRONIZED—DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES—ELIZABETH AIDS THE REBELS—THE NUMBER OF CLERGY IN SCOTLAND AND THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION—PERSECUTING STATUTES—MARY IS INVITED FROM FRANCE—HER TRIALS AND SORROWS.

Henry VIII. of England having, as we have seen, renounced his allegiance to the see of Rome, and set up an independent Church in his own kingdom, it was only natural to suppose that he would like to see a similar course adopted by his nephew, James V., in Scotland. To this end he made every effort in his power, and left nothing undone to drag the Scotch nation into heresy. When cunning and fraud had failed him, he had recourse to open violence by aiding the discontented nobles in their rebellion against their lawful sovereign. His first insidious attempt was made by sending James a treatise maintaining the doctrine of the royal ecclesiastical supremacy of princes within their respective territories. The pretensions set forth were exceedingly flattering to human pride and vanity, but the doctrine received no attention at the hands of the Scottish sovereign. James was too well grounded in his faith and had too high a sense of virtue to be deceived or swayed by such sophistry. Nothing discouraged at the fate

of his first attempt, Henry shortly after sent other works of a similar character by his chaplain the bishop of St. David's. He also solicited permission for that prelate to be allowed to preach to the court, hoping by this means to be able to obtain favor for his novel pretensions. James, however, was not to be mislead. With a firmness and promptitude worthy of all praise, he refused his uncle's heretical works and closed the doors of every church in the kingdom against Barlow. Thus it was plain to Henry that it was impossible to corrupt the mind of his nephew, and that if the doctrines of the new system of religion he had established in his own dominions, were to be introduced into Scotland, it should be by some other agencies than those he had already adopted. Accordingly he began to employ for that end the most shameful and reprehensible of means, namely, discord, treachery, and treason. Bribes were freely given to every Scottish traitor and discontented noble who was ready to sell his king and his country. Hence, the earls of Angus, Crawford, Argyll, and several others were at this time received into Henry's pay and urged to foment discontent and to create divisions among the nobles. But despite all such efforts the country was true to its allegiance. The moment, however, was a critical one, and it required the greatest possible caution to save the Church from being tainted by the corruption of the newly-broached heresy. This the primate of the Scottish Church clearly saw, and accordingly set himself with energy to preserve the faith from the inroads of error. His first care was to call an important meeting of the clergy and laity at St. Andrew's, the object being to impress upon all the gravity and seriousness of the situation, and the necessity of defending at every cost the principles of holy Church. That the country was at that moment sound in faith, we cannot have a moment's doubt, for shortly after the parliament passed a series of laws in sup-

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port of the Catholic Church and condemnatory of the principles of Protestantism. Henry now made an additional attempt to influence the faith of his nephew. To that end he sent Sir Ralf Sadler to the Scottish court with a valuable present for his majesty. There was no formal proposal made regarding the acceptance of the reformed doctrines, for the reception that Henry's former attempts in that direction had met with plainly taught him that a repetition of a like proposal would be in vain. At the same time, however, the ambassador was privately instructed to use all his efforts to corrupt the royal mind, by representing to his majesty how reasonable it was that he should keep the revenues of the monasteries in his own hands. And as the primate was the man most to be feared, nothing was to be left undone to discredit him in the eyes of his majesty. James did not fall into the trap: he replied that he did not desire to possess the property of others, that if a few of the clergy were not living according to their holy profession, the great bulk of them were God-fearing holy men, and in fine that nothing whatever could induce him, to abandon his holy religion. Another attempt of a like nature ending in a similar manner, Henry resolved to appeal to violence to force the Scotch monarch and nation to except his nefarious doctrines. He had, indeed, already made a partial provision for this, for as has been intimated above, he corrupted by means of bribes and court favor, the minds of several discontented dissolute nobles. And from these and the number they were able to influence, he was sure of support. Accordingly, assembling a considerable number of troops under the command of the old Duke of Norfolk, Henry made war on the nation. James, on his side, was not inactive. He brought together 30,000 men at Edinburgh, a number quite sufficient to meet the emergency and to deal the invaders a blow from which they would not readily

recover, had not treachery been already in the camp. Norfolk upon learning James' strength, hastily retired into his own country and was soon in full retreat. James saw his opportunity. It was not enough that the invader had quitted the nation, but he must be taught such a lesson as to effectually prevent him ever returning. Accordingly the Scotch monarch ordered a pursuit of the flying foe; victory was sure to be on the side of the defenders, and thus the integrity of the nation and of the Church would be upheld. To his amazement and chagrin, when orders were given for pursuing Norfolk's retreating forces, he learned that his officers were unwilling to comply with his orders. In vain, did he implore, beseech, reproach, and threaten. His words had no effect, and so, overwhelmed with grief and disappointment, he disbanded his troops, returned to the capital and died of a broken heart in the 31st year of his age and the 29th of his reign. Immediately upon the demise of the king, Mary, his infant daughter, a child of only five days, was proclaimed queen. According to the provisions of his majesty's will, Cardinal Beaton was appointed regent; but the earl of Arran, as next in kin to the deceased monarch, claimed the position on the ground that the will appointing the cardinal was a forgery. To avoid complications at so critical a moment, his eminence gave way and the earl was installed as regent. A more favorable opportunity than any presented before, was now afforded to Henry, especially as the man he dreaded the most had been relieved of the office of regent. Accordingly the English monarch took advantage of the situation then offered and by judiciously employing the services of the Scotch traitors then in England, laid his plans, and unhappily only too successfully, for the destruction of the national liberties and national faith of the kingdom of Scotland. Assembling the expatriated Scotch rebels and nobles, he succeeded by bri-

bery, flattery and promises in getting many of them to acknowledge him as the lord superior of Scotland. They bound themselves to use all the means in their power to obtain for him the government of the country, to have the young queen placed in his hands, to have the cardinal seized and delivered over to his majesty, and finally in the event of parliament not entertaining Henry's demand, these base traitors to God and man bound themselves by stipulated agreement to use all the feudal influence at their command in co-operating with the English army for the subjugation of Scotland to the English crown. Hardly in the whole history of the world is so unworthy a compact to be encountered; certainly none other so base is to be found in the history of Great Britain. To get the regent on their side and to ruin the cardinal, were the first works attempted by the traitors on returning to their country. In these they succeeded only too well. On the pretext that a number of noblemen suspected of entertaining heretical opinions had been destined for capital punishment in the late reign, a paper containing such names and purporting to be written by the cardinal and submitted to James, was said to be found. Amongst the names contained in the document, was that of the regent. Whether the earl really believed in the falsehood or not, it might be difficult to say; but, it would appear that it made an impression on his mind, for shortly after he embraced the reformed doctrine.

The first part of their programme being attained, the Scotch traitors now applied themselves to the accomplishment of the second, namely, the ruin of the cardinal. In this, too, they partially succeeded at first, for on some frivolous charges they obtained the arrest of his eminence and had him committed to prison. But the charges not being able to be substantiated, the cardinal was restored to his liberty, and religion triumphed ac-

cordingly in his release. His power became even greater after than it had been before his committal to prison; for, upon the assembling of parliament, he was made chancellor of the nation, an office which, coupled with that of primate, gave him the highest influence with his countrymen. Henry's nefarious designs being thus defeated, he conceived the diabolical idea of getting assassinated the man who of all others was the most effectual in preventing him from carrying out his ambitious and heretical designs. The agents required for this iniquitous purpose were readily obtained. Saturday, the 29th of May, 1546, was the day fixed upon for the bloody deed. On the morning of that day a band of hired assassins obtained entrance into the castle of St. Andrew, where the cardinal was then residing, and stabbed him to death. Thus perished one of the greatest men of his age, a true patriot and a true priest.

It was not enough for the assassins to have taken the life of their victim, but they must now need blacken his memory by the foulest of charges. History, however, has long since triumphantly vindicated his memory. "The unproved assertions of avowed enemies," judiciously remarks Rev. Mr. Lyon, a Protestant clergyman, "can be of no weight against any man and would be rejected in every court of justice. The charges were never raised till after his death. They are often absurd and contradictory."*

The fear of falling into the hands of the executive authorities and paying the penalty due to their dastardly deed, caused the assassins of the murdered cardinal to shut themselves up in the castle. There they were besieged by the governor, but owing to the strength of the fortress they were enabled to defy for the moment the efforts of the authorities. Information of what had been

* History of the Catholic Church in Scotland by James Walsh, p. 270.

accomplished being transmitted to Henry, a sum of £1180 was immediately forwarded by his majesty as blood-money and material support to these wretched assassins. All the efforts of the English monarch, however, were unavailing in attempting to save them. The rampart walls gave way before the steady fire directed against them, a breach was effected, and the murderers of Cardinal Beaton found themselves in the hands of the lawful authorities. A drum-head court martial, a few hours for preparation, and a speedy death, was what these men richly merited. But, strange to say, not one of these red-handed murderers was brought to the scaffold. Some were sent as prisoners on board the French fleet, others were interned in France, while others, again, were merely detained on board the Scotch galleys then in the roads.

Another matter of a most serious nature now startled the nation. On taking the castle there was found a register containing the autograph signatures of 200 Scotch nobles and gentlemen who had pledged themselves as traitors to hand over their country to England. Amongst these were many of the leading men of the nation. The situation, then, was a critical and dangerous one for the country, but much more dangerous from the weakness within than because of the threatened violence from without. At this juncture the Duke of Somerset, at the head of 11,000 men, entered Scotland. The invading troops were met by the national forces on the plains of Pinkie. The result was disastrous to the Scotch cause. A large number of the defenders of their country and religious interests, fell on the occasion, while, at the same time, numbers of priests and monks, who had accompanied the army to the field of battle, and who had occupied themselves in prayer while the combatants were engaged in deadly conflict, were also slain, thereby sealing their love of faith and fatherland at the cost of their lives.

Matters now having assumed this dangerous aspect, the queen-mother, a person of great talent and courage, bestirred herself in defense of the national cause and the national faith. As the most effective way of checking the advance of the English monarch, she applied for aid to France. It was granted, and 6,000 troops were despatched to the country. These were joined by the Scotch forces, and the invaders were driven out of the nation. Again the English attempted the subjugation of the country, but this time with even less success; for, on this occasion, their power was so completely broken, that they found themselves necessitated to make permanent terms of peace. Thus, after nine years of incessant efforts to rob the nation of its freedom and its faith, England abandoned for the time being her unholy pretensions.

The queen-mother was now appointed regent, and under her wise and prudent administration, the affairs of Church and state were much advanced. Up to this date, 1550, Protestantism had made little or no impression on the masses of the people. Many of the nobility and gentry, it is true, were tainted by the new heresy, but the faith of the nation, on the whole, was sound. It might have remained so, too, only for the presence of a number of turbulent, fanatical zealots, who then entered the country and attacked the doctrines of the ancient faith. These were the Protestant demagogues who, on the accession of Mary to the throne of England, found their position in that country a little too dangerous and retired accordingly into Scotland, where less restriction was placed upon their words and acts. They were joined by the notorious Knox, who, after spending a period of nineteen months' imprisonment in France, for being accessory to the murder of the late cardinal, now succeeded in regaining his freedom and returned to Scotland. As long as he confined himself to the profession

of his own heteredox creed, without interfering with others and disturbing the public order, no one cared to molest him. It was a different matter, however, when he attempted upsetting the faith of the nation and commenced preaching doctrines which were calculated to disturb the peace of the community. But Knox was shrewd enough not to endanger his personal liberty, and so, when he saw that he was likely to be made amenable to the law for his violent proceedings, he fled secretly out of the kingdom and took refuge in Geneva. Meantime, his kindred spirits, Willock, Douglas, Keith and others, continued preaching every-where their seditious, heretical doctrines, until it became necessary for the civil authority to interfere and to summon them to an account for their proceedings. By this time the fanatics had formed a considerable party. The dissolute, licentious, and covetous were on their side. Hence, fearing a popular commotion, the queen-regent deemed it more advisable not to proceed to their arraignment, but ordered them to disband. They refused and had even the audacity of threatening the regent with personal violence. It was now plain that not only the Church but the state was in danger from these men. The hungry, unscrupulous lairds saw their opportunity. They clearly comprehended the situation, and understood that if the country were thrown into revolution and the ancient faith abolished, the wealth of the Church would fall into their hands. A scheme of revolt was accordingly determined on. Knox was at this time on the Continent, but as he was considered to be a most useful agent in inflaming the minds of the people to sedition, a pressing invitation was sent him by the nobles to return. Still there were considerable difficulties in the way of the contemplated scheme, and any invasion of the rights and liberties of the Church, even in Scotland, was likely to obtain the attention of the English

queen. But Mary dying in 1558, and being succeeded by an avowed Protestant, in the person of Elizabeth, the Covenanters of Scotland found their hands very considerably strengthened. The guardians of the faith were not idle, but actively engaged in removing every just ground for complaint, and depriving the enemies of religion of every plausible pretext that might be made use of for confiscating the temporalities of the Church. Thus to avoid the charge of abuses in the patronage of church livings, an evil which, unhappily, had been too long tolerated by religion, a national council of the Scotch hierarchy was held at the monastery of the Black Friars, Edinburgh, on the 1st of March, 1559. In that assembly wise enactments were framed for the well-being of religion. But the very thing that was intended to benefit the Church and which would have done so, had it been undertaken at an earlier date, served unfortunately only to precipitate the dangers then threatened. For many of the unworthy occupants of office, recognizing in the reformatory enactments the dangers that threatened themselves, made common cause with the enemies of religion and helped to advance the revolution and to overthrow the faith. At this juncture, Knox returned to Scotland and inaugurated scenes of riot, plunder, devastation, and bloodshed, which have disgraced the annals of the Scottish nation. By a violent harangue which he delivered at Perth, and in which he denounced the holy sacrifice of the mass as idolatrous and superstitious, he so inflamed the passions of his hearers that in their frenzied excitement they immediately tore away every ornament in the church where he addressed them, broke the altars, tabernacles, images of Christ and his saints, and, in a word, left nothing but the bare walls. Emerging from that sacred place after perpetrating these sacrilegious deeds, they rushed furiously upon the other churches and

monasteries, and, during a period of two days, continued with unabated fury to wreck, demolish, and destroy every object of Catholic devotion and art on which they could lay their hands. Thus in succession the monasteries of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Black Friars, fell before this devastating horde. It was another Attila despoiling the temples of the Lord. Upon receiving information of these nefarious proceedings, the queen-regent was shocked and humiliated beyond measure. But it was not a time to give way to idle grief; the time was precious, and immediate action was needed. She accordingly summoned the nobles to her assistance, and, at the head of all the forces she could conveniently muster, marched on Perth. Before commencing hostilities, she demanded to know from the rebels, who by this time had increased to considerable numbers, if it was their intention to submit to the lawful authorities. Her intentions were not violent —all she desired was to avoid bloodshed, and to bring the rioters to a sense of their duty. Seeing the difficulties in which they were, Knox and his party thought best to submit, and articles of agreement were drawn up to the effect that none should be molested, that all differences should be settled by parliament, and that both armies should be disbanded. How little faith was to be placed on the word of the rebels, the future abundantly demonstrated. It was the difficulties in which they then found themselves, and not the love of justice or the desire of order, that induced them to come to terms with the authorities. For no sooner did they find themselves free, than they immediately repaired to St. Andrew's, the religious metropolis of the country, where they committed similar excesses to those already perpetrated at Perth. The cathedral, parochial churches, and monasteries, all fell before them. The gold and silver ornaments and utensils that they contained, were borne away, broken

up, and melted down to increase the plunder of the sacrilegious iconcolasts. The beautiful works of art, the carved pillars, and sculptured tombs that could not be appropriated, were either smashed or mutilated, while the libraries that contained some of the most valuable books were ruthlessly committed to the flames. Thus the leaders of the reformation in Scotland inaugurated their unholy work in that land. From St. Andrew's they returned to Perth, where after succeeding in obtaining possession of the town, they destroyed every vestige of Catholicity within the walls and in the immediate neighborhood. Thence they proceeded to Scone and Sterling, where like excesses marked their career. In fine, on the 25th of June, 1559, they entered Edinburgh, after having laid in ruins all the religious houses, monasteries, and churches on the route through which they passed. It was, as it were, the tornado sweeping with irresistible force all over the land and leaving behind it nothing but ruin and disorder; or, as the lightning that destroys and demolishes whatever it strikes.

The regent having retired to Dunbar, the capital was wholly in the hands of the reformers. It would be difficult to form an idea of the excesses to which the passions of these ungodly men hurried them at that moment. "All restraint was then at an end and the capital of Scotland was in the hands of men whose deeds for some time past were more barbarous and destructive than those of either Goths or Vandals."

For an entire month the rebels held possession of the city: meantime they entered into negotiations with the English, with the view of betraying the interests of their country. This becoming known caused a considerable defection from their ranks, of which the queen-regent taking advantage, the tide of success was turned on her side. Accordingly mustering all her available force she returned

to the capital, when her enemies were obliged to give way and to retire from before her. A little time and their case was all but hopeless. On the 8th of August, Knox wrote to the representative of the English government as follows: "The case standeth thus, that unless without delay, money be furnished to pay our soldiers who in number are now only five hundred, for their past services, and to enable us to retain another thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen for a time, we will be compelled, every man, to look to his own safety."

The response returned to this letter by Elizabeth was £3000, which was ordered to be distributed with great caution and secrecy among the leaders. The subsidy produced the desired result; it animated the drooping courage of the rebels and determined them upon the most desperate venture. Through the agency of Belnaves, one of their number, they informed the English representative that they had resolved to depose the regent, to place the supreme power in the hands of the Duke of Hamilton, and finally to hand over the country to the British crown. The project was most acceptable to the parties concerned, and so, aided by British gold and the influence of a powerful nobleman who renounced his allegiance and his religion from motives of personal ambition, the Covenanters were strengthened and enabled to continue their iniquitous course of plundering the remaining churches and abbeys. Of those that fell into the hands of these destroyers, at this time, were the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline. The plunder thus obtained from the ruined monasteries, as well as the subsidies received from England, coupled with the wild, fantastic notions of religion then becoming prevalent, served to draw a large number of followers over to the side of the Covenanters, so that within a few months they had an army of about 12,000 men under their command. With these

they marched upon Edinburgh which they occupied without resistance, the regent having retired at their approach to Leith. The country they now regarded as in their power, and accordingly applied themselves to forming a kind of constitutional government for the management of civil and religious affairs. But just at this juncture a serious difficulty confronted them. The sinews of war were wanting. Much money, indeed, had been received from England, and much had been plundered from the religious houses and the parochial churches, but this for the most part found its way into the pockets of the nobles. It was not to be wondered at, then, that discontent should have manifested itself in the rank and file of the army. An army poorly paid, is an army in a state of disorder It was in vain that the preachers denounced the conduct of the mutinous and invoked upon the clamorous the judgments of God. In return, the soldiers retaliated in kind by reproaching the preachers with being apostates and renegades. A sum of £4000, sent at that time by Elizabeth and which would have gone a long way in satisfying the demands of the discontented, was intercepted by the Earl of Bothwell and appropriated by him to his own use. Nothing in consequence remained for the party to do but to disband or to immediately attack the fortification of Leith, where the regent had taken refuge The latter they resolved upon doing, but they entirely miscalculated the strength of their adversary. They were routed at every point and driven back in confusion and disorder into Edinburgh, whence after losing by desertion the greater part of their men, they escaped at night, "amid the derisive shouts and insults of the citizens." Thus as long as success attended their arms and that they had plenty of plunder or British gold to offer their followers, the leaders of the Reformation in Scotland had a goodly number of disciples; but when these were not at hand, their number decreased proportionally. It

was now plain that if Protestantism were to be established in the country, it should be by the aid of British bayonets. Assistance had been already granted on several occasions in the shape of specie, but to no avail. The country was too Catholic to be withdrawn from its allegiance by such means as that. Negotiations were accordingly entered into between the leaders of the rebellion and Queen Elizabeth, and an English army was despatched to invade the nation. It was under the command of Lord Grey and was composed of 8000 men. At the same time a fleet was also sent with orders to cruise on the coast, so as to be in readiness to co-operate with the land forces if needed. It was thus at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon, that the people of Scotland were taught the first principles of Protestantism. For twenty years every effort had been made by bribery and calumny to detach them from their allegiance to the see of Rome; but to no avail, for at the end of that period, with the exception of some itinerant preachers, unscrupulous lairds and some thousands of dissolute, abandoned followers, the country was still Catholic in sentiment and at heart.

The army commanded by Lord Grey, being joined by the Covenanters, hostilities were commenced on the 14th of April, 1560. The scene of action was at Leith. There the invading force having taken up its position, was attacked by the Scotch and French troops who sallied forth from the fortifications. The engagement was a decided success for the cause of order and religion. The English were badly defeated, as many as 200 being slain and a considerable number taken prisoners. Three thousand additional troops were now despatched from England. Thus reinforced, the invading army attempted to storm the castle of Leith; they attacked it by sea and land, but owing to the great bravery of the inhabitants, were completely repulsed. The

women signalized themselves on the occasion. They came forth on the battlements, helped to load the guns, to fire them, and to cast down on the assailants the barrels of boiling pitch used as a means of defense. But the invaders were daring men, and it was not till full one-half their leaders had fallen and that nearly a thousand of those under their command lay dead and dying in the trenches around the ramparts, that the contest was abandoned as hopeless and the bugle was sounded for a retreat. Elizabeth, now despairing of conquering the country, deemed it more politic to come to an understanding, and, accordingly, terms of peace were entered into on the 8th of July, 1560.

In the articles of peace concluded between the authorities and the English commander, it was stipulated that a general amnesty should be extended to all who desired to return to their allegiance and that a parliament should be held for the adjustment of all national differences. To that assembly the Protestant party looked forward with the utmost anxiety and interest as the only means now of advancing their interests and accomplishing their designs. Every effort in their power was made to have it a partisan meeting. Even many who were not duly elected at all, claimed the right to sit and vote in the assembly. In fact it was a regularly packed parliament. Having thus succeeded in obtaining a majority of their own way of thinking, the Covenanters next presented a form of faith to the assembly and begged it to be ratified and established as the true doctrine of the Church of Scotland. In vain did the orthodox members present protest against so unwarrantable and irregular a proceeding. The measure, however, was carried and thus a new religion was established for Scotland. The next step was to abolish the old one. Accordingly, acts were passed, abolishing the power of the pope, repealing all former acts in favor of the Catholics, and making it pun-

ishable with confiscation for the first offense; banishment from the kingdom, for the second, and death, for the third, for every one who would celebrate or assist at the holy sacrifice of the mass. Thus after twenty years of bribery and corruption on the part of England, and treachery and hypocrisy on the part of many of the native nobles, the liberties of the Catholic Church in Scotland were finally extinguished and a system of church polity established from which the country has had to suffer for generations.

The entire number of clergy and religious men and women in Scotland at that date, viz., 1560, amounted to about 3000, a by no means exorbitant figure, if we remember that the entire country was then Catholic. The total revenue of all these amounted in the aggregate to £327,734, 6s, 7½d. Commenting on this, the author of the history of the Catholic Church in Scotland very judiciously remarks: "This wealth had been accumulating for more than 1,300 years. It was the gift of Scottish kings and princes, of warriors and nobles, of saints, bishops, churchmen and laymen in all ranks of life, freely given to God, to his Church and to the poor. The clergy of the Catholic Church had only the use of part of it during their lives, and administered it for the advancement of religion and learning, for the support of the poor and the benefit of the whole people. It is a fact well known and admitted by most writers, that in all Catholic countries before the Reformation the whole yearly income of the Church was divided into three parts, one of which was for the support of the clergy, another for the support and maintenance of the poor and distressed, and the other for the erection of churches and ecclesiastical buildings, schools and colleges; keeping them in repair and all such like purposes. In Scotland it was the same, so that out of the £327,000 of income, £109,000 were given to support the poor, and £109,000 went to build and re-

pair churches and buildings of various kinds, leaving the other £109,000 for the support of the clergy, the religious and those connected with the Church. If then," continues the writer, "the archbishops, bishops, abbots and dignified clergy in Scotland to the number of 1000, be allowed the sum of £60 each per year, this takes away £60,000 and leaves £49,000 to be divided among the 2000 curates, vicars, monks, friars and nuns, or an allowance of £24, 10s each to provide for all the necessaries of life."

Assuming the foregoing to be correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, the reader must readily see that the wealth of the clergy in Scotland was nothing exorbitant, even allowing that the value of money then was quadruple its present actual worth. It will be also noted by the reader that the plunder perpetrated by the pretended reformers affected as well the poor and the indigent as it did the clergy of the country. And where, it may be fair to enquire, did all this church revenue find its way? It was divided between about a hundred corrupt, rapacious noblemen, who also seized upon the rich abbey lands and appropriated them to their own personal use.

Although the Church was now deprived of her temporalities, and laws enacted making it death to profess the Catholic faith, yet the nation was Catholic at heart. It was easier to make statutes abolishing the ancient creed, than in reality to abolish it. Nor were there wanting at this period, men to boldly come forward in defense of the ancient religion. Thus the calumnies and errors of Knox and his party, were triumphantly refuted and exposed by such men as Fathers Kennedy, Wingate, Lesley, and others.

The persecuting statutes of the packed Protestant parliament, spoken of above, as framed against the profession of the Catholic faith, not having received the sanction of the sovereign, the reformers were afraid to carry them

into execution. But the king consort dying at this juncture, December 6th, 1560, the enemies of religion took courage, and petitioned the parliament to carry into execution the lately framed laws, and to punish, as idolators, all who had violated the same, by celebrating or assisting at the sacrifice of the mass. The prayer of the petitioners was readily attended to, and orders were issued for the complete and immediate destruction of all the remaining abbeys, monasteries and every other monument and vestige of the Catholic faith in the country. The result is best told in the words of Dr. Stuart: "A dreadful devastation ensued; the populace armed with authority, spread their ravages over the kingdom. It was deemed an execrable lenity to spare any fabric. The churches and religious houses were every-where defaced or pulled to the ground, and their furniture, utensils, and decorations became the prizes and property of the invader. Even the sepulchres of the dead were ransacked and violated. The libraries of the ecclesiastics and the registers kept by them of their own transactions and of civil affairs, were gathered into heaps, and committed to the flames. Religious antipathy, the sanction of the law, the exhortation of the clergy, the hope of spoil, and, above all, the ardor to put the last band to the Reformation, concurred; and in the midst of havoc and calamity, the new establishment surveyed its importance and its power." Again, Mr. Hossack, another Protestant writer, speaking of the same destructive work, says: "Knox might well boast with Attila, that desolation followed on his track whichever way he turned. All that was most venerable in architecture and valuable in art at that time in Scotland was ruthlessly assailed. The libraries and most ancient records contained in the religious houses—nay even the tombs of the dead—did not escape the general wreck. There is nothing in all history to be compar-

ed to this exhibition of fanatical fury. No invading army ever committed such merciless havoc in the territory of an enemy. No people ever before or since deliberately destroyed, with all the formalities of law, the monuments of art and industry bequeathed to them by their own ancestors." Thus all over the country, the churches, monasteries, and religious houses fell before the fury of the despoiler, until hardly any remained to remind one that the faith once practiced by the people, was that of the Catholic Church.

The young, widowed queen was now invited over from France, but from what immediately transpired, it was plain that the reformers intended ruling, and not to be ruled by the sovereign, for when on the Sunday following her arrival in Edinburgh, she ordered mass to be celebrated in the royal chapel for herself and attendants, the lords in waiting refused to permit it. Mary felt this intolerance and defiance of her authority keenly. But she was determined to win over by conciliation, gentleness, and moderation those who opposed her. Accordingly on the following day, a proclamation was issued announcing that no alteration would be made in the established religion, and forbidding any one molesting her majesty's attendants. This was not enough for the fanatics, and they even had the audacity to declare that they would take the life of the priest who would dare celebrate mass for her majesty. Mary's independence then asserted itself, and she had it announced that no one, on pain of death, should molest her chaplains.

It was now the 15th of December, 1561, and at that date a council was summoned to determine upon the distribution of the property recently plundered from the Church. The greater part had been indeed already monopolized by the lords, but considerable yet remained. Of the whole, then, it was agreed that two thirds should remain with the

plunderers, and that one third should go to the crown and the preachers. This was not pleasing to Knox, who denounced the entire business as the work of the devil; but there was no alternative left, and he had to submit. Meantime, the country continued Catholic. The holy sacrifice of the mass was offered and the sacraments administered in private in towns and villages, and where this was not possible, the woods, glens, or mountain-fastnesses became the scene of the clergy's ministrations. In effect the clergy, as a body, remained faithful to their trust. Many indeed quitted the country and retired to the Continent, a course in every way necessary for the timid and faint-hearted. For then was begun a persecution of so intolerant a character that no one was at liberty to profess the holy Catholic faith, except at the risk of his life. And this cruel and crushing persecution, thus started against the Catholics, was continued in one shape or another during the following three hundred years and upwards, down to the time of Catholic emancipation. Thus by bribery, violence, and penal enactments, Scotland was largely robbed of her holy religion.

CHAPTER VII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE FAITH INTO ABYSSINIA—THE EUTYCHIAN HERESY EMBRACED BY THE PEOPLE—THE TRUE FAITH RESTORED—THE JESUITS EMPLOYED FOR THAT PURPOSE—THE COUNTRY AGAIN DEPRIVED OF ORTHODOX TEACHERS—KING DAVID EMBRACES THE TRUE FAITH—HE ENDEAVORS TO COERCE HIS SUBJECTS INTO ACCEPTING THE SAME—THE COUNTRY RISES IN ARMS—THE KING IS VICTORIOUS—AN ASSEMBLY SUMMONED TO DETERMINE WHAT FAITH SHOULD BE RECEIVED—THE CATHOLIC RELIGION PROSCRIBED—THE KING SEES HIS MISTAKE—HE DIES—PERSECUTION OF THE FAITHFUL IN THE ISLAND OF AMBOINE.

While the persecution recorded in the preceding chapter was being carried on in Great Britain and Ireland, the enemy of man's salvation was in like manner actively engaged in making war upon divine truth in the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia. The light of faith was carried into that country, in the fourth century, by Frumentius, who was consecrated by St. Athanasius of Alexandria. From that period, the country unhappily never enjoyed, at any time, more than a single bishop who, regarding Alexandria as the chief seat of authority, remained orthodox only as long as that see continued in possession of the true faith. The patriarch Dioscorus, having adopted the errors of Eutyches in the middle of the fifth century, communicated the same to the Church of Abyssinia. Eventually, the whole country embraced these errors, and the knowledge of the true faith was thus lost to the Abyssinians. This unhappy state of affairs continued down to the middle of the 16th century. At that date, the reigning monarch David, having been deprived of the greater part of his dominions by the Mahometan king of Adel, had recourse for

protection to John III., of Portugal. That monarch acceded to his entreaties, and an opportunity was thus offered of reviving the true faith in that ill-fated land. The undertaking being of an arduous and delicate nature, all the zeal and prudence of the most devoted and experienced missionaries were required for the due accomplishment of the project. The work was intrusted by Pope Julius III. to the members of the newly-formed society of Ignatius of Loyala. Three of that community were, accordingly, appointed for this task, one being nominated patriarch and the other two, suffragan bishops. They did not immediately proceed to the place of their destination, for David dying at this juncture, it was deemed prudent to await information regarding the new emperor's disposition, before embarking on so arduous and important an enterprise. Time proved the wisdom of this course, for the new ruler's convictions were found to be more intolerant than those of his father. Under such circumstances, little could be expected that would favor the interests of divine truth. Still, an attempt had to be made, and although the preaching of the religion was proscribed in the kingdom, the missionaries still succeeded in making an impression, and continued to add to the number of the faithful until arrested by the authorities, and relegated to the summit of a lofty mountain where for several months they suffered extremely from exposure to the inclemency of the weather. For their return from so inhospitable an abode, they were indebted under divine providence to the intercession of a princess of the royal family. Being led by curiosity to see how they conducted themselves in their place of banishment, she was astonished at beholding them, it is said, surrounded by a bright, preternatural light, which gave her to understand the character of men they were, and caused her to intercede in their behalf so effectually as to obtain their release. Their recall, however, was by no

means the end of their sufferings; on the contrary it was only the prelude to greater. The tyrant learning of the successful efforts they were making in drawing many from their heretical doctrines, resolved upon banishing them from the country, a sentence in which he also included the Portuguese residents in his dominions, with the exception of the women and children, whom he retained in the capacity of slaves. Nor was it solely upon the adventurers to the kingdom and the representatives of the true doctrine of Christ, that this monarch's cruelty was exercised. It was directed also against his own, on various frivolous pretexts, until at length harassed beyond endurance by his constant and unreasonable exactions, the people rose in arms against their oppressor, and after a series of successful engagements succeeded in dethroning him, when they placed in his stead a natural child of his deceased brother, David.

Owing to the political troubles that thus occupied the attention of the country and agitated every rank and condition of society, the religious were partly at liberty to prosecute the work of the ministry, though not entirely secure from the annoyances and persecutions of those in authority. The three holy dignitaries consequently, continued to spread the light of faith all around. But another impediment was now thrown in the way of the progress of the Gospel. The last of the missionaries died in 1597 and the country was once again without the presence of an orthodox teacher of divine truth. The good seed they had sown, however, yielded in due season a favorable return. In 1603, the reigning monarch Atzuef Seghel renounced his errors and became a Catholic. "I cannot," said he, "but recognize as chief of the Church the successor of Peter, whom Christ charged with feeding his lambs and his sheep, and upon whom he founded his Church. I believe that to refuse him obedience is to refuse it to Jesus Christ."

Shortly after he applied to Philip III. of Spain for a patriarch, bishops, and missionaries. In keeping with this he issued an edict favorable to the new faith, a circumstance which his enemies laid hold of to excite the people against his authority. The plea was deceptive ; it was an appeal to the passions and succeeded in arousing the multitude who flew to arms to deprive the king of his crown. He was succeeded by his grandson, David, who despite the example before him, in the late monarch's dethronement, yet opened his eyes like him to the light of faith and renounced his heretical creed. Not content with enjoying the truth himself, he would impart the same to his subjects, and with this view took measures to unite the country with the chair of Peter. The means he took were, unfortunately, not those that reason, religion, or humanity would endorse. They were coercion. He made known to his subjects that he required all to accept the council of Chalcedon. Several, amongst whom were many of the leading men of the empire, readily accommodated themselves to the circumstances and conformed to their monarch's will, not indeed under the conviction of embracing the truth, but rather of avoiding temporal inconvenience. Others, as might be expected, refused to comply, and the country, was thus thrown into a state of commotion and strife which ordinary prudence and foresight might readily have avoided. Amongst the chief opponents of the emperor's policy, were the clergy of the country, whose chief, the Aboona, excommunicated all who should abandon the ancient religion. These censures, however, were not sufficient to prevent all from quitting the schism. The example of the emperor and his court, but especially the admirable lives of the missionaries, acted most favorably on the masses and resulted in thousands embracing the truth. Numbers on the other hand preferred death in its most terrible

form, rather than abandon their faith. One of the most notable instances of this, was the case of a religious community who, to the number of 60, preferred casting themselves from the summit of a lofty rock, rather than obey the emperor's orders. This devotion to their creed, however false, might have taught the emperor a milder policy and a more liberal mode of government; but he acted more from passion than reason, and in opposition to the mild maxims of the Gospel, he resolved by force of arms to make all conform to his views. To this end, he made war on his inoffending subjects, for no other or better reason than that they adhered to what they believed to be the truth. In this he was following the example of the worst tyrants the world has ever beheld, and such a course deserves the reprobation of all right thinking men.

Attacked thus, in what to them was the most sacred of all things, the schismatics appealed to arms against their legitimate sovereign, and led by a number of religious who bore the altar stones on their heads as a pledge of victory, they advanced to the contest. The monks had assured their followers that the Catholics at the very sight of the objects just mentioned would fly from the field and be thrown into utter confusion. The result showed how erroneous were these promises. Being in the first rank, the religious were the first to fall, a circumstance which entirely dispirited their followers and contributed mainly to their defeat. The emperor's authority being thus fully established, all were required to abandon their heresy. The religion thus received numerous accessions, but though ostensibly this was to its advantage it was virtually its ruin. In forcing religion upon men contrary to their convictions, the seeds of hypocrisy are sowed, which in time are destined to yield their noxious return. It was so in this instance, as was shown immediately after. The daughter of the emperor,

or, as he was styled, the Negous, having espoused the viceroy of Tigre merited by her dissolute conduct to be severely reprehended. In her chagrin, she took refuge with her parent, and when a demand was made by her husband for an examination into her conduct, it was met by her father with an absolute refusal. A misunderstanding was thus created between the viceroy and his imperial father-in-law. The former appealed to arms, as the only means of terminating the dispute, and, in order to add to the number of his adherents, apostatized from the faith and rallied under his standard those who under the pressure of violence had conformed to the emperor's faith. In this manner the entire country was thrown into the utmost confusion and the most violent antipathies were created between parties. The object of the rebels was in the first instance to massacre the missionaries, but these being apprised of their danger withdrew to a place of security and thus avoided the death that was prepared for them. The chaplain to the apostate viceroy formed an exception: he was not so fortunate as his brethren in effecting his escape, and against him was turned, in consequence, all the rage of the baffled ruler. Loaded with irons he was led before the rebel leader and his troops, and mercilessly slain in cold blood. The scene that immediately followed, revealed the animosity that existed in the minds of the troops against the Catholic faith and the injury that the policy of the emperor had effected in offering violence to the consciences of his subjects. It was one never to be forgotten. While the body of the martyr lay weltering in its blood, each of the soldiers came forward and swore over his mangled remains never to desist till the Catholic faith had been banished from Abyssinia. The example thus set by the people of Tigre was an encouragement to others to follow in their footsteps. Nor did the aggrieved delay

very long in manifesting the sentiments by which they were animated, in consequence of being compelled to embrace a religion contrary to their convictions. But the efforts they made were insufficient to insure them success. The emperor's troops were victorious, and, instead of learning a lesson from what had occurred, the fanatical ruler became only more steadfastly rooted in his original policy. Hence no sooner had the rebellion been quelled than he issued an edict similar to his original order, only more peremptory in its character and more serious in the matter of infractions, commanding the whole of his subjects to embrace, without murmur, the Catholic creed. A refusal was to be followed by the most harassing and damaging penalties, in the shape of fines and imprisonment. So odious and unchristian a proceeding was sure to awaken some of the worst passions in the breasts of the heretics. It drove them to the very verge of despair, and, hence, though but recently conquered, they again in their wild and excited condition appealed to the arbitration of war. They were aided in this instance by the heir to the throne and several of the powerful nobles who, though Catholics in name, were schismatics at heart, having been reconciled to the Catholic faith not from a conviction of its truth but through compliance with their master's desires. What alarmed the Negous still more, at this juncture, was the bold, determined, but respectful, language addressed to him by the schismatical leaders even in the very hour of their defeat. Thus on the occasion of a remarkable victory, when the king came to visit the camp, several of the officers addressed him as follows: "Prince, those whom you behold here slain, though rebels and worthy in consequence of losing their lives, were still your subjects. In these heaps of dead, you behold faithful servants, friends, yea even relatives. This carnage has been caused by the newly-im-

ported religion, and it will cause still more frightful excesses unless you see to it. Don't imagine that the war is terminated; it is only begun, and this is merely the prelude to the most terrible disasters. Every-where the people are enraged and demand the Alexandrian faith which they received from their ancestors. You understand, Prince, the daring and rage of the multitude. They respect nothing, not even kings, when there is question of religion. As for us, we shall never abandon you, but what can we do against so many! Already we have learned with the deepest regret that several of the chiefs and the greater number of the soldiers have abandoned your flag. Others will follow their example, if you continue to listen to the strange doctrines. Granting that the Roman faith is holier, though you are not ignorant, Prince, of the fact that very capable men doubt it; granting, too, that a moral reform is necessary, it is still better to proceed mildly and tenderly so that the country may the more readily be brought to accept the change. Not to cease in the present career, is to hasten to certain ruin; it is to lose yourself and the empire."

However erroneous the faith of the Alexandrian party may have been, one cannot help admiring the frank and independent character of this language. It produced an impression as important as its authors could have wished. The Negous, alarmed at such a powerful combination, in which was even included the heir to the throne, deemed it more prudent to yield to a compromise. In the conditions accepted, he showed as much weakness as before he had exhibited injustice. Tyrants are ever cowards; the bravest man is he whose conscience is clear. Instead of granting to all freedom of conscience and liberty of worship, he consented to an assembly of nobles and officers where the question was to be determined, whether the Catholic faith was to remain the religion of the state or not! What was more

incongruous still was, that neither the patriarch nor any of his clergy were permitted to be present at the deliberations! The result might be readily conjectured. The Catholic religion was proscribed, and, as a first consequence, the clergy were prohibited preaching it any longer. The authors of this measure were well aware how such an order would be received, and they had resolved upon turning its violation into a plea for banishing the offenders. The patriarch and his clergy were, accordingly, removed from their charge and confined to a certain locality till measures could be taken to deport them to the Indies. Meantime, on the 14th of June, 1632, the heir-apparent, who now exercised in a measure the supreme power, issued an edict ordering all to return to the ancient faith, by which was understood the Alexandrian heresy of Dioscorus. The old emperor, seeing the turn that things had thus taken, opened his eyes at last to the fatal error he had made in handing over the direction of the Church to those who were its deadliest enemies. He started as if from a slumber, and in his uneasiness of mind at having betrayed the interests of religion, he found it impossible to obtain either sleep or repose. In his perplexity and torture of soul, he resolved upon retracing his steps. Hence sending for one of the Catholic missionaries he made known to him his intentions of re-establishing the Catholic faith in the empire. But the end for him was come; life in his case had drawn to a close; and in the bitterness of unavailing regret at having yielded too much in the hour of prosperity, he expired on the 26th of September, 1632.

From that moment, the Catholic clergy had nothing to expect. With Basilides, an apostate, on the throne, their doom was sealed. The new Negous was, also, by nature a bloodthirsty tyrant; every sentiment of humanity seemed dead in his soul. To secure himself against the

possibility of intrigue, he put to death by poison and the sword all his brothers to the number of five and twenty, while his uncle escaped a like fate only by being deported to a desert place. Such a man was not likely to select as an agent to carry out his behests any other than an unscrupulous character. In fact, such was the Aboona or patriarch, who was now placed at the head of the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation. He was an adventurer from Egypt, said to have been sent from Alexandria, but the fact of whose ordination was even doubted by many. From the very moment of his appointment, he showed the spirit by which he was actuated. For amongst the first acts of his official position was an order for the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries, with whom he declared his inability to abide in the kingdom. On their part, the fathers humbly petitioned the emperor for a conference, in which they would be in a position to demonstrate the truth of their holy religion. Whatever may have been the monarch's individual inclination in reference to this, the schismatical party, foreseeing the consequences that were certain to result, prevailed upon the emperor to refuse the demand. The missionaries were accordingly informed that a conference was useless, since the question was already determined. At the same time it was intimated to the Fathers that they should accelerate their departure. To this they were at first disposed to submit; but on reflection they deemed it more prudent to place themselves under the protection of an independent prince, John Akay, who received them courteously and promised them protection. This, as might have been anticipated, earned for him the emperor's displeasure, which was shown by an invasion of Akay's dominions, but without effect, for this hospitable ruler repelled his assailants. Thus repulsed, the Negous had recourse to diplomacy to effect his purpose. He pro-

mised the missionaries' protector considerable remuneration in case he rid himself of the Fathers, but threatened, in case of a refusal, to bring all the power of which Abyssinia was capable to bear in reducing him to submission. Akay, seeing the inutility of attempting to hold out any longer, counselled the missionaries to accept the inevitable and withdraw from the country. Under the circumstances nothing remained for them but to depart. Accordingly, accompanied by a detachment of soldiers, they proceeded to Massowah on the Red Sea. This was all that the Negous required, for he thus hoped to be able to compass the death of the religious. Already an understanding had been entered into between him and the governor of that port to massacre the missionaries, but the avarice of the Turkish official was the safety of the Fathers. Though finding them destitute of all temporal goods, he yet hoped to turn their captivity to his profit, and hence, instead of taking their lives as had been agreed on between him and the Negous, he detained them in prison and demanded a considerable sum (30,000 crowns) for their ransom. When this failed to be obtained, he reduced his demand to 20,000, and subsequently to 15,000. But even this he was unable to extort. In fine, under the fear of violence being offered to their countrymen, as the governor threatened to do so in case his demand was unattended to, the Portugese merchants of Massowah raised a subscription of 4,300 crowns. For this amount it was stipulated to let the Fathers depart, but the insatiable avarice of the governor got the better of him and he determined to detain three of the number as hostages, until the whole of his demand was settled. News of these shameful proceedings arriving in Europe, the general of the Jesuits had immediate recourse to the kind offices of the consular authority at Cairo, through whom he obtained the libera-

tion of the incarcerated Fathers, but not before the Portugese merchants had supplied the considerable sum of 6000 crowns.

Meanwhile, the condition of the religious who remained concealed in the country, was little or nothing superior to that of their brethren in the prisons of Massowah. Obliged to avoid as far as was possible the society of men and to hide in the forests and lonely places, they were in the double danger of perishing from want and the attacks of wild beasts. Their presence in the country was for a time unknown to the emperor, but it having come to his knowledge, he became so greatly enraged that he removed from his office the viceroy whom he suspected of protecting the Fathers. This officer's successor was a bitter enemy of the Catholics and he showed it by surprising three of the Fathers, whom he slew in cold-blood, on the 25th of April, 1635.

The emperor now feigned contentment; he even announced it as his entire good will and pleasure, that the remaining religious should not be further molested, and thereby accorded them liberty to appear in public and to return to their former charge. From any other, such a promise would be accepted as a change of sentiment, and a pledge of protection; but coming from the murderer of his own immediate relatives, it contained nothing that could be relied on, and was regarded by many as a trap set by the emperor to allure the missionaries into his power. The sequel proved the correctness of this suspicion. The life, however, that they were necessitated to lead, was so painful and irksome, that at every risk the Fathers resolved upon trusting to the emperor's sincerity. But they had no sooner done so than they learned how insincere and hostile his intentions were. A tribunal constituted of a few of the nobles of the empire, convicted them of a capital offense

and sentenced them to death. If the immediate execution of the sentence was not carried into effect, it was not that the condemned were treated with humanity. On the contrary, being intrusted to the keeping of a brutal, heretical gaoler, they were made to endure as great an accumulation of misery and suffering as could be inflicted by hunger, cold and imprisonment. But their sufferings were not entirely without their advantage and beneficial results; they served to awaken and stimulate the religious fervor of the faithful in general. Becoming aware of this, the cruel emperor determined to rid himself of the presence of men who, even in prison, ceased not to exercise a salutary influence on the minds of the multitude at large. They were accordingly placed in the hands of the executioners, and amid a shower of stones yielded up their souls to God, whom they so faithfully served. Only two Jesuit Fathers now remained in the empire, and these they also discovered and executed like their brethren, on the 12th of April, 1640. Nine clergy were all that were then left in the whole of Abyssinia, to minister to the wants of thousands of their brethren. Of these five were Portuguese, and four natives, all of whom perished, eventually, either by hardships, exposure, or the sword. Since then several attempts have been made to resuscitate the religion in the country, but with little effect.

While the Christians in Abyssinia and China were being persecuted on account of their holy religion, the faithful in other parts were not wholly exempt from suffering. No systematic persecution, it is true, was conducted in other foreign lands at this period, but that did not mean that none were called upon to die for the faith in this age. Notable amongst those, who thus gave evidence to divine truth at the expense of their lives, were many of the faithful of the island of Amboine. In an incursion into that island

by the Mahometan, inhabitants of Java, the Christians who refused to abandon their faith were made to undergo the most terrible tortures. Cruelty and barbarity in their worst and most offensive forms, were the characteristics of of the sufferings inflicted on these inoffending Christians. The conquerors being cannibals, before taking the lives of their victims, dismembered them of all but the vital parts, and then in brutal enjoyment, cooked under the eyes of the sufferers, and feasted off, the very members of which they had deprived their still living victims. Thus these glorious martyrs beheld in a measure, while still living, the consummation of the sacrifice they were called upon to make for their God.

So frightful a proceeding naturally struck terror into the hearts of all, and was the occasion, unhappily, of numerous apostasies. But several, unwilling to abandon their faith and yet doubting their strength to encounter such tortures, fled before the face of their persecutors and buried themselves amid the rocks and in the caves of the mountains. But even there they were not safe from their enemies. Urged on by the powers of darkness, the conquerors pursued their hapless victims into the wildest of the mountain fastnesses, and many when pressed to the utmost extremity, sought refuge by attempting to swim to the neighboring island, but perished in the attempt. The courage with which the more valiant resisted their persetors, may be judged from the fact of several hundred of them having given their lives rather than suffer an indignity being offered to the symbol of man's salvation. Thus, it being customary with the people to have a cross erected in their respective communities, the persecutors not finding one where they knew the people to be Christian, required it to be delivered up under the penalty of death. The Christians knowing the indignity that would be offered to

it, had taken the precaution of carefully secreting it. On refusing to bring forth the holy emblem, all were mercilessly massacred, to the number of six hundred or more. Some years later, as many as 60,000 Christians were put to death in the Moluccas, partly at the instigation of the English and Dutch. Later still, in 1586, several Dominicans and a great number of the faithful whom they governed, were slain by the Turks in Armenia. Independent of these, at the period of which we speak, several missionaries suffered death in their efforts to extend the faith to barbarous people.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND—GUARANTEES GIVEN TO THE CATHOLICS—BAD FAITH OF RUSSIA—CATHERINE PERSECUTES THE FAITHFUL—THE PERSECUTION CEASES UNDER PAUL I.—NICHOLAS ASCENDS THE THRONE—HIS ARBITRARY MEASURES—OPPRESSION OF THE CATHOLICS—HIS DESIGN TO DESTROY CATHOLICITY—PERSECUTION AND HORRIBLE EXCESSES—THE CATHOLICS DEPRIVED OF THEIR CHURCHES—UNFAITHFUL BISHOPS—AN APOSTATE ATTEMPTS TO PREVERT A CONVENT OF NUNS—THEIR TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS—BANISHED TO SIBERIA—MARVELOUS ESCAPE OF SOME OF THEM.

From the contemplation of the sufferings of the Christians in the East, the reader's attention is now invited to those of the West. The year 1772 is an epoch memorable in the annals of Europe for the extinction of the liberties of one of the most remarkable people in the world. In that year the allied armies of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, taking advantage of the disturbed state of European affairs, entered Poland and took possession of that country. On the following year the kingdom was dismembered and divided between these powers. It was an evil day for the Catholics of Poland, when this took place. Guarantees, indeed, were given of the most formal kind, conceding the fullest liberty of worship to all. The article according this on the part of Russia and signed by all the powers ran thus: "The Roman Catholics shall enjoy in all the ceded provinces by this present treaty all their property as regards their civil rights; and as respects religion they shall remain entirely in *statu quo*, that is to say in the same free exercise of their worship and discipline. They shall continue to possess all their churches and the ecclesiastical property they possessed at

the time of their passing under the dominion of her imperial majesty, and her majesty's successors shall not employ any sovereign rights to the prejudice of the *statu quo* of the Roman Catholic religion in the provinces named." This solemn treaty which was signed by Catherine II., the then reigning empress, was kept only as long as political convenience demanded. The empress, never intended to observe it; for from that moment all her efforts were directed towards the destruction of religion in that unfortunate country. Her first violation of the treaty was when she seized and confiscated the ecclesiastical property of the Catholics and attempted to draw a large number of the faithful into an acceptance of the schismatical creed. In direct violation of one of the clauses of the treaty, which secured to the Catholics of the Latin and Rutherian rites an immunity from all interference in their religious belief, Catherine now ordered the Russian and Rutherian Poles either to conform to the schismatical faith or to immediately adopt the Latin form of worship. This was an artful and specious device: it was an appeal to national prejudices and to the people's love of a ritual, rendered dear to them by thousands of memories. Unhappily it became a stumbling-block in the way of many, for rather than abandon their ritual, they abandoned their faith. The result was what was anticipated by the wily ruler. A beginning was thus made in detaching the faithful from the chair of Peter. To accomplish the more fully this iniquitous work, all that was needed was a willing tool whose position amongst the clergy would give him an influence with his countrymen. Such a creature the empress was not long in finding in the person of Stanislas Bohusz Sisstrzencewiez, a convert from Calvinism, who had exchanged the sword for the ecclesiastical habit at the suggestion of the bishop of Vilna. In recompense for his Russian pro-

clivities, though born a Pole, Catherine had him appointed to the archbishopric of Moheelev in White Russia, with metropolitan powers over all the Latin communities in the empire. In the fullest sense he was a creature of the empress, and succeeded but too well in carrying out her design of proselytizing the faithful. Not content with the ordinary means, the empress organized in 1794, a band of schismatical priests and soldiers who traversed the country in every direction rigorously exacting of the Rutherians obedience to the imperial command. The arguments employed were the knout and the prison. The priests who refused to conform were deprived of their parishes, stripped of their goods and cast into prison. The faithful fared even worse; they were cruelly beaten, deprived of their goods, and oftentimes even horribly mutilated. The mutilation consisted of depriving them of their ears and noses, this being supplemented by the violent breaking of their teeth. To such an extent was this horrible brutality carried, that his holiness Pius VII. deemed it his duty to remonstrate against it; but instead of obtaining a cessation of the cruelty the empress retorted by suppressing all the Rutherian sees in the empire. During twenty years till the time of her death in 1796, the Catholics suffered all manner of indignity at the hands of this wicked woman. She was succeeded by her son Paul I. who, of a more humane disposition, abstained from persecuting the faithful and agreed to carry into effect the treaty of 1773. The persecution of the Catholics, accordingly, ceased throughout the empire, several of the suppressed bishoprics were reorganized and much of the confiscated property recovered. One serious impediment, however, stood in the way of the Church's complete success; that was the presence and influence of the archbishop of Moheelev of whom mention has been made. Ostensibly Catholic, but veritably Protestant as his conduct

abundantly demonstrated, this man was unhappily metropolitan of the newly-appointed bishops. To thwart as far as was possible the efforts of Rome this wolf in sheep's clothing obtained from the imperial government permission for the appointment of an ecclesiastical commission to inquire into and adjudicate upon the state of religion in the Catholic sees, without reference to Rome. This was virtually severing himself from the centre of authority. As president of the commission, he was careful to appoint as his colleagues men of dissolute morals and on whose support he was sure he could readily rely. Thus aided by a couple of abandoned religious, and with his Protestant brother as secretary of the commission, this unfaithful shepherd committed abuses and excesses of which history contains but few such examples. He ended by declaring himself the protector of the Anglican Bible Society! To add to the affliction of the faithful, the sovereignty of the empire now passed into the hands of one in whom the spirit of Catherine was revived. That was Nicholas. From the moment of his accession till his death, this relentless ruler ceased not to persecute the Catholics. He first prohibted the bishops, communicating with the soverign pontiff on matters of religion. Shortly after in 1826, he prohibted Catholic books being sold in public. These arbitrary acts were followed by others equally autocratic and subversive of the rights of the subject; as the suppression of the bishopric of Luck and the formation of two metropolitan sees whose occupants were subject to a committee residing at the capital and the guiding spirit of which was the emperor himself. To favor the same idea, that of detaching the faithful from the centre of unity, the Basilian monks were withdrawn from the authority of their immediate superiors and placed under that of the bishops, the object being to draw the Rutherian Church into the schism.

The arbitrary measures adopted by the same ruler towards the Latin branch of the Church in his dominions, were even more oppressive and injurious. In 1828 he prohibited any one becoming a member of a religious community before obtaining permission from the Minister of Worship. On the other hand, as regards the secular clergy, no one was at liberty to enter a seminary with the view of studying for the priesthood, except on the following conditions, viz., that he was a member of the nobility, was more than five and thirty years of age, had made his studies in one of the government universities, had furnished a substitute for the military service, had obtained the Minister of Public Worship's permission, and finally, had disbursed 600 francs in favor of the schismatic clergy! This was virtually to close the doors of the seminaries against all applicants, and to effect indirectly the extinction of the Latin Church in his imperial majesty's dominions. But lest so severe and sweeping a measure might not be in some degree defeated by an increase in the number of the religious, his majesty issued an order in 1829 closing the novitiates and limiting the number of seminarists for every diocese. In the following year the cognizance to be taken of the nullity of marriages was transferred from the ecclesiastical to the civil tribunals—an assumption which was strenuously opposed by the bishops of Pollachie, Guthowski and Skorkowski. But their opposition amounted to nothing.

The manifest design of the emperor being to eradicate the Catholic faith, the Poles in 1830 appealed to arms in defense of their rights. A year's fruitless struggle proved that they were unequal to the contest and they lay once more at the mercy of the tyrant. It was then, to stay the emperor's terrible vengeance, and, if possible, to obtain some tolerable conditions for the poor, suffering faithful, that Gregory XVI. wrote to Nicholas, complaining of the sufferings

which the Catholics were being made to endure and reminding him of the treaty entered into between the holy see and his predecessors. The sovereign pontiff's appeal received no attention: it seemed, if anything, to have rendered the tyrant even more determined to destroy the liberties of the faithful within his dominions. For, after receiving the pontifical document, he adopted such measures as were calculated to ruin entirely the faith of his Catholic subjects. These ordinances were of a twofold character. By the former, all the children of mixed marriages were to be brought up in the Russian faith; the Catholics of both the Latin and Greek united rites were to assist respectively in each other's churches, and receive the sacraments from each other's clergy. At the same time all the schools and seminaries for the education of the clergy of the united rite, were ordered closed, and the students commanded to pursue their course in one of the schismatical colleges at St. Petersburgh. What aided the emperor materially in these nefarious proceedings was the defection of three of the Catholic prelates to the ranks of the schismatics. But though the influence of these was most disastrous to the cause of divine truth, the great bulk of the people and of the clergy remained faithful to their conscience. Nothing was more admirable or edifying than the constancy and fidelity displayed by the laity on that occasion. Instead of waiting till called on by the voice of their pastors to show themselves faithful in the war made on their holy religion, they even took the lead in this struggle and earnestly supplicated their prelates to remain firm and true to their charge. They logically, too, defended their position against the attacks of the government by showing how the free exercise of the Catholic faith had been guaranteed. But reasoning of this nature, however conclusive, had no meaning for one who was deaf to everything but the voice of

his own unholy and ambitious designs. The consequence was, that those of the clergy who remained faithful to their God found a home in Siberia, their churches being confiscated and handed over to the schismatics. Religious hatred was now aroused in all its fiercest form and every effort was made to extinguish the Catholic religion in the country. At the suggestion of two of the apostate prelates, the Catholic faithful were required under pain of death to conform to the religion of the state, on the pretext that they formerly belonged thereto. This led to the most horrible excesses. Deeds of violence and barbarity were perpetrated of a nature to shock the sensibilities of the most hard-hearted and indifferent. Thus in 1835, an ecclesiastical commission attended by a body of troops, took possession of the parochial church of Witepsk and, in the name of the emperor, demanded of the inhabitants to embrace the schism. The people resisted this demand on their faith, when they were fallen upon by the military and most shamefully maltreated so that several expired under the ill-usage they received. All were not equally firm. Others, on the other hand, fled before their tormentors and took refuge on a frozen tank. There being surrounded and required to yield to the emperor's orders, they answered in the spirit of the primitive martyrs: "We prefer to die than to abandon the religion of our fathers." This noble and spirited answer merited for many of them the martyr's crown. For their persecutors, despairing of being able to detach them from the faith, broke the ice and precipitated them to the number of two and twenty to the bottom of the reservoir, a few only having succeeded in saving themselves by swimming. Similar atrocities were perpetrated in other parts of the country, several having lost their lives at Leziorkowice and Starosiel in the fruitless attempt to defend their churches against the Russian authorities.

In 1835, the Catholics of Uszacz complained to the imperial government of being forcibly deprived of their church, for having refused to conform to the schismatical creed. A commission of investigation was appointed, the result of whose labor was a demand on the people to abandon their faith, which, when not readily complied with, they were plundered of their substance and several cast into prison. Seeing that this was insufficient to cause their apostasy, the pastors were commanded to abstain from hearing their confessions or from administering any spiritual comfort. Still unshaken in their purpose, these generous confessors met this additional attack upon their religion by declaring their readiness to be deprived rather of their priests than of their faith. "We shall remain," said they, "without priests, we shall pray at home, we will die without priests, we will confess one to another, but we will not embrace your creed." Thus deprived of their faithful pastors and of all the comforts and consolations of religion, the inhabitants of Lubowicz addressed an humble petition to the emperor setting forth the faith and loyalty of their ancestors, and how they were being forced to abandon their religion, which of all things upon earth they regarded as the most precious. "They force us," said these faithful Christians, "to abjure our faith, not by corporal punishment, but by means much more atrocious, that is by depriving us of our spiritual aids, by preventing our priests from baptizing our children, hearing our confessions, and blessing our marriages. It is true that they tear us from our pastors. In so cruel a persecution, the only refuge left us is in the clemency of your imperial majesty." The emperor paid no attention to this petition, nay, lest it might be repeated, he ordered that no such supplication should be addressed to him again, except through the medium of the nobles, who, on their part, were commanded

not to concern themselves about religious affairs. The injustice thus perpetrated may be in part inferred from the fact that in the provinces of White Russia and Lithuania as many as 686 churches were thus violently wrested from the Catholics and handed over to the schismatics during the single year of 1837. But the author of all this violence and injustice was still unappeased. The apostate bishops Siemoszko and Luzinski now attempted to force the Catholic clergy into signing an act of union with the Greek Church. But in this they signally failed, nearly all the clergy in the province of Moheelev, where this nefarious effort was tried, having indignantly refused and preserved their faith, but not without the loss of their personal liberty, for upon their refusal to abandon their religion they were deported to the number of 600 to Siberia, where the majority of them perished through want and severity.

The great misfortune of the Church, in all these years of suffering, was the infidelity of her chief pastors. Nor was this the less severely felt after than before the period at which we are now arrived. In 1839, the bishops of Polock, and Brest, and the coadjutor of Lithuania, formally renounced their allegiance to Rome, and joined the schismatical Russian church. Still worse, in their address to the emperor, they endeavored to make it appear that they were joined by their flocks. The condition of the Latin Church, at the same period, was equally deplorable. The resolution come to against it by government in 1828, regarding the suppression of the religious institutions, was fully accomplished in 1832. Amid this common desolation of governmental oppression on the one hand and of episcopal defection on the other, it was encouraging to see that the cause of divine truth was ably and zealously defended by some of God's eminent servants. Of these the female Basilian religious of Minsk, in Luthuania, were pre-eminently remarkable.

The community which consisted of thirty-four religious was presided over by the Abbess Macrina Mieszyslawske. The great services they had rendered to the cause of education and the reputation they enjoyed for eminent sanctity, furnished a hope that they would be spared in the general destruction. It is possible, too, that they would, only for the bitter, implacable animosity of the faithless apostate Siemoszko. This miserable pervert having sold his birthright, endeavored like all of his class to cover his shame by dragging his acquaintances into the schism. To this end he set his heart upon perverting the religious knowing that their fall would be the prelude to the apostasy of the laity in general. With this view he endeavored to make it appear that the difference between the Russian and Roman churches was imaginary and of no serious moment, that in fact the faith was not concerned at all. To this he added promises, exhortations and entreaties, but finding these of no avail he revealed his genuine character, threatening in the name of the emperor, in case of resistance, the severest of punishments. In confirmation of the authority vested in him, he presented to the abbess an autograph document of the emperor empowering him to proceed to the utmost extreme in the work of conversion. It read thus: "I approve all that the holy archbishop has done and will do for the establishment of the orthodox faith in the provinces, which have had the misfortune of being separated from the truth, either for a long or short period. I regard all these efforts as holy, yea thrice holy. And in case of resistance, I order the military at all times and in every place to put themselves at his command and to furnish the necessary force. This ukase I sign with my own hand. NICHOLAS."

The poor religious now saw what they had to expect. It was a supreme moment for them; they found themselves in the position of the primitive Christians when confront-

ing the tyrants in the cause of divine truth. On the one hand was freedom, but apostasy ; on the other violence, imprisonment, but conscience. The side to be taken was not long a matter of doubt, it did not for a moment obtain a thought of the holy abbess ; for immediately turning to her community she addressed them thus : " Your pleasure, dear children, is solicited ; which shall you choose, death here and glory hereafter, or life here and death in the world to come." " Death in this life " cried all unanimously, without a dissenting voice : "our choice is made ; the will of God be done." Noteworthy and memorable as was this answer, still more remarkable and magnificent was what immediately followed. Knowing how determined the apostate dignitary was in carrying out his evil resolve, the faithful of Minsk came to the aid of the holy religious and offered to place them beyond the reach of their tormentors while awaiting a more liberal policy on the part of the emperor. "I must, if necessary, die at my post where God has placed me," was the answer returned by the abbess to those who would remove her and her tender charge to a place of security. " And we," responded the sisters, " shall die at your side." Thus ended the first attempt on the faith of the Basilian female religious of Minsk

Shortly afterwards the apostate tormentor returned and gave the holy confessors a period of three months to deliberate whether they would accept his offer, embrace the schism, or be expelled from their convent. This period having expired without any change of sentiment on the part of the sisters, Siemoszko, accompanied by the governor and attended by a body of troops, entered the convent at five o'clock in the morning, in the month of July, 1837, and proceeded to put his threat of expulsion into execution. " To-day you have to quit this place," said the wicked man; " unless you make your retraction at my hands." To this

the sisters returned the answer: "We shall go." Thereupon, prostrating themselves, on the ground they offered the sufferings they were about to endure in union with the sufferings of the Son of God on the cross. The next moment all but one had arisen: she was still prostrated. This was the first victim of that faithful band; the shock was too great for her nerves; she was a corpse. On leaving that holy retreat, endeared to them by so many hallowed associations, these faithful religious were prohibited taking with them any of their worldly goods, save the large wooden cross used by them in their religious processions. Bearing that sacred emblem of man's salvation upon her shoulders and accompanied by her faithful religious, Macrina went forth from her convent, a martyr to the cause of truth and a faithful follower of Him, who first carried his cross to Calvary. The scene in the street as the community emerged from the convent, was heart-rending in the extreme. News having spread that the religious were being expelled from their home, hundreds had congregated in the vicinity of the building. Of these, numbers had been the former pupils of the religious, and their distress upon seeing their faithful teachers barbarously expelled, was painful to behold, especially when they gave expression to their sorrow in cries and lamentations. But this was of no avail, nor would the people be even permitted to approach the victims to offer them any alms or to utter a word of consolation. After leaving the town, the holy women were manacled after the fashion of malefactors! Such was the haste with which they were hurried along that several fainted on the road. After seven days travel they arrived at Witepsk and were confined in a kind of Magdalen Asylum inhabited by fallen women and the wives of Russian soldiers. Even there they were not released from their chains, but necessitated to

bear them night and day. Their life while in this horrible abode was a veritable purgatory on earth. Chained in pairs, they were required to perform the most menial employment, receiving for their subsistence an insufficient quantity of coarse, unhealthy food, and made to sleep upon the bare ground! During all this time, however, and amid their numerous sufferings, they had one source of sensible comfort apart from the knowledge of the justice and sacredness of the cause they were sustaining. That was the cross they had brought with them on their departure, and which reminded them so forcibly of their Savior's afflictions. One glance at that symbol of man's salvation was enough to soften their hardest duties, to cheer them in their darkest hours, and to bring them consolation in their greatest trials. How could they consider their sufferings great in comparison with those of Him who died on that instrument of torture. At the foot of the cross they prayed, they meditated, and found their comfort and consolation. In the presence of that instrument of their Savior's passion, they forgot their trials, their privations and hardships. The coldness, dampness and discomfort of their prison cells, the coarseness and scantiness of their food, and the rudeness and severity with which they were treated, lost their naturally irksome features and brought instead to those holy servants of God a secret sense of joy and gladness as they viewed them all in the presence of that sign of salvation, which they had brought with them from their beloved home. One thing and one only seemed to press heavily upon them and to cause them the sincerest regret. That was being deprived of the most adorable Eucharist. This to those who have given all to follow Christ, is the greatest trial and the most poignant grief. One can readily imagine their joy, then, on finding themselves unexpectedly, one day, in the presence of one who had so often distributed to

them the bread of life—their former confessor at Minsk! If an angel from heaven had visited them, they could hardly be more surprised. With difficulty were they able to realize the situation. In their transport of joy at seeing themselves once more in the presence of a friend, priest and spiritual director, they cast themselves on their kness, blessed the divine providence for so unexpected a favor and became for the time wholly insensible to the hardships and sorrows of their condition. Their joy, however, was only momentary: the mistake into which they had fallen, served but to render their sufferings more bitter. The man who stood before them was, indeed, their former confessor; but he was no longer their friend; He was not now a priest of the Catholic Church; he had fallen and become an apostate! A little time served to convince them of this, as in studied phrases and soothing language, he encouraged them to abandon their faith and join the Russian Church. "Is it you," cried the holy abbess, in amazement, "is it you who labored so zealously for our sanctification, who would now have us guilty of apostasy? Oh, impossible." "When I acted thus," coolly replied the apostate, "I was a fool." The truth was then but too painfully evident and with united voice, all cried out: "Apostate! apostate!" Then turning instantly from the presence of the tempter, they sought consolation on their knees at the foot of that cherished symbol of man's redemption, of which I have spoken. Great as had been the graces accorded to them in the past, still greater were needed in their then terrible conflict. Indeed the storm against their faith, the struggle against their holy resolve, may be said to have then only fairly begun.

Seeing that he could not succeed by deception this traitor, to God and man, this wolf in sheep's clothing, proceeded from words to violence. Already these heroic religious had

been condemned, in case of a refusal, to be scourged into submission. And this was the man selected for carrying into effect the bloody injunction. Nor was he unworthy of his employers. With a malignity almost incredible, this former confessor of the holy Basilian nuns of Minsk, commanded these devoted servants of God, to be publicly whipped thrice in the week, until they renounced the holy Catholic Church. The faithful, heroic band heard their doom in silence. In this they showed themselves the true servants of Him who, dragged as a lamb to the slaughter, opened not his mouth. For the first time in their lives did they feel that interior joy that springeth from a consciousness of suffering in the cause of truth and for the name of Christ. Then they realized how like was their condition to that of the primitive Christians, and they rejoiced like the Apostles that they were deemed worthy to suffer for their Redeemer. And that they may not be wanting in the moment of trial, they hastened to prepare themselves by prayer and meditation for the terrible conflict. Their supplications were not in vain; heaven heard their prayers, and granted them the courage necessary for the terrible ordeal. It is difficult to realize a scene of this nature occurring in our days. Three and thirty delicate females bound to the stake, for no other crime than that of adhering to their holy religion, and lashed by brutal, stalwart soldiers, until some of the number expired under the blows—is a scene at which the mind of the least sensitive is shocked beyond measure and which arouses the virtuous indignation of our common humanity. The first to die under the lash, were Sisters Columba, Groska, Suezana, Rypinska and Ielawa. The survivors were separated into batches and placed in different cells, the object being to break down their spirit by depriving them of their mutual aid. The quarters occupied by the abbess and those who were permitted to share her society,

may be regarded rather as a dungeon than an ordinary prison cell. The humidity of the place was such as to render it entirely unfit for the preservation of any species of provisions, while, at the same time, its occupants were necessitated to wage a continual warfare against the numerous vermin with which it was constantly infested. There in that dark, damp, poisonous cave, with no other food than an inadequate quantity of half-rotten vegetables, these holy and heroic women, their wounds still unhealed, passed the first nine days of their captivity, in suffering hardly to be conceived. Daily the tempter came to their prison door, paper in hand, promising them liberty and honor, if they signed their apostasy. But as regularly and firmly did the religious reject the unholy proposal. Dreadful as this ordeal was, a still greater awaited them. One day as usual the apostate appeared before the abbess, and with an air of malignant delight on his countenance, announced that the sisters who had been separated from her control, had finally yielded and put their signatures to the document. "What," thought the saintly superioress, "have my sisters fallen? Have they who so generously persevered up to the present, yielded at last? Have they exchanged immortal for mortal honors?" Buried for a moment in reflection, she presently resumed her ordinary composure, and answered: "No, it is not so, my sisters have not fallen: they are not apostates." The knowledge she had of the virtues of her children, and the confidence she had placed in the goodness and providence of God, forbade her to entertain for a moment, so unworthy an idea. Nor was her judgment ill-founded, for to the great consolation and mutual joy of the whole of the sufferers, it was subsequently learned, upon their prisons being opened, that not one of the community had been untrue to her faith. The assertion of their apostasy was only a stratagem on the part of the enemy, but, even in this he was conquered.

Promises, flattery and torture having proved unavailing to shake the constancy of those faithful servants of God, the apostate prelate Siemoszko was resolved to employ still greater violence so as to reduce them to submission. With this view he ordered the saintly religious to be brought into his presence in one of the churches of Witepsk. To render compliance to his orders more certain, the sisters were first treated to their usual flogging. Thus, bleeding profusely from their numerous wounds, exhausted from privation and mental anxiety, these noble, courageous women were conducted, or rather forced, to where their presence was demanded. Arrived at the entrance of the building, at a signal from the superioress all cast themselves upon their knees and declared their firm determination of dying rather than entering the building. The scene was rendered still more affecting and impressive when the abbess snatching an axe from one of the bystanders presented it to their tormentor with these words; "Take this and become our executioner, after having been our pastor. Our heads may perhaps roll into your church, but our feet shall never voluntarily carry us across the threshold." This firm avowal of their religious resolve aroused the worst passions in the breast of Siemoszko; he became violently enraged and smote the holy abbess on the face breaking a number of her teeth. The violence thus offered these virtuous religious was not suffered to go unpunished even in this life by the God of Justice. The first to experience the anger of the Almighty was the apostate chaplain. Passing one day, while in a state of intoxication, from the scene of his bloody exploits, he stumbled into a tank and was drowned—sad ending of a sad career. Two years had now elapsed since the sisters arrived as captives at Witepsk, when they were informed that they were to be removed thence to Polock. As far

as they were concerned, it mattered but little to them where they were. They had nothing to leave and nothing to hope for. The old wooden cross at whose foot they had so often and so fervently prayed, was indeed to them an object of interest and affection. It was an old and valued friend, that sustained and encouraged them in their darkest and dreariest hours; but even if deprived of its presence they knew how to supply for its absence, by erecting an ideal one in the centre of their hearts. Calmly and resignedly then did they see themselves deprived of that object of comfort and consolation.

From Polock the faithful servants of God were transferred to Spask where they were made to work in clearing the ground for the erection of a palace for him who was their tormentor, the apostate bishop Siemoszko. The strength and inexperience of the holy women being wholly unequal to the task, several of their number lost their lives in the work. Five were accidently buried under an embankment, nine were crushed to death under a fallen wall, and one lost her life by the stroke of a machine which she was unable to manage. In all fifteen died at Spask. The bodies of these heroic servants of God were privately removed during the night by the Catholics and decently interred. But the death of so many of their number in no sense modified the rigor of government in behalf of the living, no sympathy being permitted to be shown to the survivors, the authorities going so far as to visit with deportation from the country those who expressed themselves in commiseration of the sisters.

While the erection of the palace continued, the sufferers were joined by another band of faithful religious, who, in like manner, though subjected to the lash, had heroically resisted every effort to turn them from the profession of divine truth. Of these, four who were septuagenarians

were frozen to death by their tormentors. They were placed successively under a pump and kept there until the water had done its work and there remained only the corpses. Another of their number, having succumbed under a load, had her head split open by an enraged official, and thus was added to the number of these glorious martyrs. The younger and more active of the later arrivals, found means at this juncture of eluding the vigilance of the guard, and so effected their escape—a circumstance which rendered the condition of the detained still more unendurable. On the other hand, much more rigorous measures were employed to induce them to apostatize. This new attempt was probably the most trying of all, and required all the fortitude at their command to enable them to resist. It consisted in the quantity and quality of their rations. It was resolved to furnish them daily with a single salt herring for each, but without any manner of liquid, except on the condition of apostasy. A frightful death in consequence, stared them then in the face, and they prepared to accept it with all its horror, rather than be unfaithful to their conscience. But by the interposition of divine providence, they were not necessitated to endure this terrible ordeal in all its worst features. The authorities, instead of carrying out their original purpose, changed their programme into allowing their victims a limited amount of food and water. Thus the Almighty preserved them from the horrors of a death the most painful to contemplate, while at the same time he saved them from what above all other evils, they dreaded the most—the loss of their virginal chastity. Short of this, every other indignity that could be imagined was exercised upon them by a brutalized, insensible, intoxicated guard. They were beaten, buffeted, and maltreated to such an extent that two of the number expired, covered with wounds and streaming with blood, while eight of the remainder lay prostrate on

the pavement unable to rise. The intolerant spirit that animated the persecutors of these poor faithful children of God, may be judged from the fact that a gentleman who ordered a funeral service for the victims, was convicted of a heinous offense and deported into Siberia, there to eke out a miserable existence. In the same, if not in a more intolerant spirit, did the authorities act towards a community of Dominican religious, who, for having prayed for the martyrs, were made to atone for their crime by being driven from their convent. Despite all this horrible tyranny, however, the government found itself unable to suppress the general feeling of virtuous indignation that such unheard of barbarity had awakened in the minds of all, and consequently to avoid the censures of public opinion, the sufferers were ordered to another locality in the province of Minsk. There the officials resorted to the same subterfuge that they did at Witepsk. They divided the religious into different parties, and lyingly informed them of the apostasy of their companions. But this was as vain in the second instance as in the first. Still determined to overcome their faithful resistance, those having them in charge now made another and more barbarous attempt on their faith. They enclosed them in sacks up to their necks, and having placed them on board a little vessel, had them repeatedly plunged in the lake that lies in the immediate vicinity. For two or three hours this barbarous ordeal was tried, but to no purpose; for all were found faithful to the end, though three of their number expired during the horrible treatment. Out of the four and thirty sisters who were originally banished from Minsk, together with the twenty-four from Witespk and Polock, only fourteen now remained. The forty-four others had died the victims of the most shameful barbarity. Everything that cruelty could suggest being tried, but in vain, to reduce them to submission, it was decided as a

dernier resort to deport them to Siberia, there to spend a miserable existence in the mines of that region. It was little imagined when this resolution was come to, that God was preparing to deliver his servants. Before setting out for their ultimate destination, one night, while all the guards, on the occasion of a great festival, had indulged to excess in intoxicating liquors, the courageous abbess and three of her sisters effected an escape. Taking advantage of the favorable situation in which they found themselves, they resolved to hazard an escape. It was a perilous adventure; if they failed, death or still worse would be their fate: while, on the other hand, not to venture, was to accept a slow but certain death in the horrible locality whither they were being transported. Accordingly, weighing the consequences, they resolved upon making the attempt. If more did not join, it was because the abbess was unable to communicate with the whole of her charge. The first barrier that opposed their escape were the walls of the enclosure surrounding the building, within which they were temporarily confined. This they overcame by strategy and daring. In the yard attached to building, which then served them as a gaol, but which had been previously a convent, were some aged trees by means of which they were enabled to reach the top of the wall that separated them from the outer world and freedom. The danger of the descent was then to be dreaded; but divine providence had provided a remedy in the recent snow which had fallen in great quantities to a considerable depth all around. To the poor, terrified creatures, however, the elevation was alarming. But what was to be done? To recoil before the danger and retrace their steps would be to forego the only chance that ever would be offered them of regaining their liberty, while to make the attempt and trust to their fate may possibly end in their freedom. So throwing themsel-

ves wholly into the hands of divine providence, and trusting to the mercy and goodness of that God without whose knowledge a hair does not fall from our heads, they cast themselves down, and, though stunned by the fall, found to their joy that they were wholly uninjured. Knowing that search would be made for them on the following day, and that safety depended entirely on concealment, they deemed it advisable to separate and take different routes. After determining the objective locality whither all were to hasten and where they should ultimately meet, in case of success, they tenderly embraced each other, commended themselves to God and set out upon their perilous journey. Macrina, the abbess, the surer to avoid falling into the hands of the emissaries certain to be sent in pursuit, departed from the highway and travelled for some days in the woods. On the fifth day, finding herself rapidly sinking for want of the necessary nourishment and from constant exposure to the inclemency of the weather, she was unwillingly necessitated to apply for some aid at a wood-cutter's cottage. Greatly to her comfort she was received with all the hospitality that one in so pitiable a condition was calculated to excite, but was most earnestly exhorted to abandon so perilous a journey. The words of the generous hostess, however, made no impression on the determined religious. She had undertaken the task, and would succeed or perish in the attempt. So committing herself anew to the care of divine providence, she resumed her course. But even with all the courage, determination and firmness of character that were peculiarly hers, and knowing full well that her life and liberty depended upon her success, she arrived at a stage in her journey when to her chagrin she found herself utterly unable to proceed any further. Once more, then, she found herself forced to apply for relief, not knowing but that those to whom she appealed and made known her condition may

be on the side of her enemies, and have her restored to captivity. But under the circumstances, nothing else remained to be done. Either a friendly hand must be stretched forth to relieve her necessity, or she must inevitably perish from hunger and cold. Accordingly, approaching a respectable dwelling, she resolved upon trusting herself to the honor of the proprietor, stating frankly her case and leaving the result to divine providence. Making, then, her appeal in the shortest and simplest form of words, she said: "I am going to die of cold and hunger, unles you have pity on me." "And who are you?" enquired the lady, she addressed. "I am one of four religious of St. Basil, who have succeeded in escaping from the schismatical convent of Miedzioly," answered the weary stranger. This was enough to obtain for her all the hospitality and care she needed. Her hostess was only too glad to be favored with such a visitant. For a week the holy abbess remained with this worthy lady, until she found herself sufficiently restored and in a position to continue her journey. Upon leaving, her kind benefactress provided her with an ample supply of all that was needed on the way. Thus, furnished with the necessaries of life she set out once more on foot, and finally arrived at Posen, after a journey of several hundred miles in the depth of winter without a guide, and almost destitute of food, during a considerable part of the way. At Posen she was received into the convent of the Sisters of Charity, and by order of the archbishop drew up an account of her suffering and wonderful escape, to which she attested on oath, and which was forwarded to Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

A STORM GATHERING IN FRANCE—THE CAUSE OF THIS—CONFISCATION BY THE STATE OF THE CHURCH PROPERTY—THE STATE INFRINGES ON THE RIGHTS OF THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF—ROBESPIERRE SUPPRESSES THE METROPOLITAN SEES—THE KING SUBSCRIBES THE NEW CONSTITUTION—THE NOBLE STAND TAKEN BY THE CLERGY—THE ASSEMBLY PAYS NO ATTENTION TO THEIR PROTEST—THE CONSTITUTION REJECTED BY THE CLERGY—WAR BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE NOW COMMENCED—THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF CONDEMNS THE ACTION OF GOVERNMENT—THE CLERGY PERSECUTED EVERY-WHERE AND DRIVEN OUT AS COMMON ENEMIES—THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRIESTS SHUNNED BY THE FAITHFUL—TERRIBLE EXCESSES OF THE AUTHORITIES.

While the events narrated in a former chapter regarding Japan and Cochin China were occurring, a storm of unusual violence was gathering in Europe, and burst later on with the most disastrous effects over the Church of France. For nearly two centuries the liberties of the French people were being abridged more and more by the influence and power of the nobles. Kings and ministers ruled in an almost arbitrary manner. During half a century prior to 1789, religion was the continual butt of the infidel philosophers of the period. The writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, and others did more to embitter the minds of the people against the clergy then could be readily imagined. The country was, indeed, ripe for a revolution. On the 17th of December, 1789, it was proposed in the parliament to suppress the religious communities. The ground alleged was the departure of the members from their original purpose. After a lively debate, the measure was adopted and all were at liberty to abandon their holy profession. Many, unhappily,

embraced the opportunity and ranged themselves with the enemies of religion. This was the commencement of those tyrannical acts that immediately followed. On the 17th of March following, it was proposed to alienate the whole of the Church property, and to place it at the disposition of the government. So sweeping a measure naturally met with much opposition by the friends of the clergy; but the advocates of the project being seemingly in the majority, a compromise of a most liberal nature was offered to the authorities. It was stipulated to pay to the government, in view of the abandonment of the measure then before the legislature, the very considerable sum of 400,000,000 of francs, the interest to be paid until the principal could be liquidated in installments. So liberal an offer met with the approval of several; but after an animated debate, the offer was rejected, and the entire of the Church property vested in government, the clergy to be paid a stipulated stipend. Such an arrangement was naturally destined to alter materially the relations between Church and state. In their altered capacity, the clergy of the country would stand towards the government as salaried functionaries of state. But the men who advocated the measure knew well what they were about. Their object was to de-catholicize France, nor did they shrink from its avowal. The faith for them was only a secondary matter; it was merely an agent employed for political purposes. The deputies indeed were not wholly devoid of all religious impressions; but their religion was more of sectarianism, or Jansenism, than Catholicism. On the erroneous assumption that all legitimate power emanates from and resides in the people, the parliament of that time aimed at concentrating the spiritual as well as the temporal authority in the hands of the Assembly. This according to them was purifying religion and bringing it back to its primitive state, when the people as

well as the clergy had a share in the election of pastors and bishops. The officers of religion would, accordingly, become the mere creatures or delegates of the civil authorities, and so the regulation of matters of discipline, of faith and of morals would be equally the work of the laity and the clergy. So monstrous an assumption, it is clear, could not be permitted or advocated by any but those destitute of the first elements of faith. But the men who attempted these measures were not men of faith.

Amongst the first measures submitted to the Assembly was the regulation of the number of bishops who were to be elected like the deputes, by the voice of the people. It was proposed to reduce at once the number of the episcopal sees from 134 to 80, or one for every department; and that these functionaries might know that they wholly depended on government, it was prohibited them soliciting appointment from the sovereign pontiff. The only concession allowed was that of notifying his holiness of the fact of their election, and this merely as a mark of their being in communion with the Catholic Church. So tyrannical and uncanonical a system, it is plain, could not be productive of any but the most lamentable consequences.

These and kindred clauses of an equally oppressive character were what was entitled the "civil constitution of the clergy," the enforcement of which led to such horrible excesses on the part of the authorities, as we shall presently see. It was not to be expected that a measure of so radical a character would pass without opposition. The archbishop of Aix opposed it in a powerful speech in which he demonstrated most clearly from history, the canons and councils of the church, that such measures if needed should emanate from the spiritual and not from the civil authorities. He was followed by others of the clerical body; but their reasoning was lost upon men who acted solely from

passion and who had resolved before hand, cost what it may, to carry their project.

To all that was advanced, Robespierre merely responded by proposing the suppression of the metropolitan sees and the office of cardinal, advocating at the same time the marriage of the clergy. From the manner in which the propositions were received, it was clear that the cause of the clergy was lost. Nor did it take very long to make the incredulous certain of this; for on the 12th of July, 1790, the civil constitution was adopted by the Assembly. At once the king saw the embarrassment in which the passage of the measure had placed him. If he refused to endorse it, his crown was in danger, and to sign it, was what his conscience forbade. To seek counsel in his difficulties, he immediately wrote to Pius VI. from whom he received an assurance that to approve of the measure would be to drag the nation into error and probably to originate a civil commotion. Under the circumstances, his holiness counselled his majesty to have recourse to and be guided by the advice of the bishops of Vienne and Bordeaux. By this time the effect of the government measure in the appropriation of the property of the Church was beginning to be unpleasantly felt; for though a stipend was allotted to the clergy, and the faith of the nation was promised for its payment, the demands were not always attended to, so that in numerous instances the clergy were on the verge of starvation. It was not even permitted them to beg; while as a further illustration of the injustice that influenced the legislators the religious of other nationalities then residing in France, though stripped of all their possessions, were supposed to find means sufficient to carry them home. Nay, as if in mockery of their painful situation, the members of the legislature, instead of providing for their wants, began legislating for the length and character of their garments! It

was even seriously debated whether the ecclesiastical habit should not be prohibited, except when employed in the functions of the Church.

The time was now come for the monarch to subscribe the new constitution, in order to render it law. The unhappy king, preferring his throne to his conscience, weakly yielded and ratified all the acts of the Assembly. His conscience, however, was ill at ease, and he immediately wrote once more to the sovereign pontiff, begging his counsel and aid under the circumstances. The pope, before answering, solicited the opinion of the hierarchy, and these with few exceptions decided against the constituent law and resolved to resist it by a passive opposition. They, accordingly, continued the discharge of their functions regardless of the measure enacted against them, prohibiting their freedom of action. Nay, more, the episcopal members of the Assembly, in a document addressed to his holiness and entitled "An exposition of the civil constitution of the clergy," showed how united they were and how determined to withstand every attempt to detach them from their allegiance to Rome. In that memorable document the signers declared that the Church is independent of the civil authority in matters of faith and discipline; that the state cannot alter the canonical forms nor require of the clergy to abjure their ecclesiastical rights. This declaration was signed by a hundred and forty of the prelates, and forwarded to Rome. It is a splendid monument of the faith of the French Church at that date, and the attachment of the chief pastors to the successor of Peter.

The Assembly paid no attention to the united action of the prelates. Resting satisfied with the endorsement of the monarch, the members passed to the order of the day and enacted a law requiring of all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom to subscribe to the constitution within a limited period,

eighty days, under the penalty annexed thereto. The king was unwilling to sanction this further demand, but his position was precarious and he acceded conditionally. This was not enough for the Assembly: that body required an absolute acceptance of the measure, and the monarch, driven to extremes, consulted the bishop of Aix. That learned and prudent prelate counselled his majesty against further concessions. The king was guided by his advice—a resolve which highly incensed the members of the legislature and called forth from them the most offensive remarks. Matters had then assumed a most dangerous aspect; the public indignation had acquired the most threatening proportions; and it was only when it seemed certain that the clergy would be given over to the fury of the populace, that Louis signed the decree, in the sense required by its authors.

In applying his signature to this tyrannical document, the monarch plainly exceeded the limits of his power: he outstepped his authority. His intentions may have been good, but he appended his signature to a document which he knew to be a violation of the rights of his subjects in the ecclesiastical order. The monarch's action had a deplorable result; fifty-four ecclesiastics immediately took the oath of allegiance, but of these, some repented of their act and publicly retracted. An open rupture was now effected between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The former were determined to exact an acceptance of the articles of the constitution, and the latter, on their part, were prohibited by conscience from granting such a concession. To harmonize the difficulties, the bishop of Cleremont suggested an explanatory and saving clause, offering to accept the constitution as far as it did not intrench on the spiritual prerogatives of the Church. This would have saved the character of the nation, and have prevented those horrible

scenes which followed immediately after. But it was passion and not reason that influenced men at that moment. Matters had by this time come to a crisis. On the 4th of January, 1791, placards were posted through Paris declaring the clergy who refused to swear to the constitution, civil disturbers and deserving of punishment. The same day, at the opening of the chambers, the galleries were taken possession of by a wild, infuriated rabble, that was ready to wreak vengeance on the clergy who refused to subscribe. Never before nor since were there more momentous interests at stake in France, and greater determination demanded for upholding the principles of justice and truth. On the one hand, were the enemies of religion with all the power of the state and the rabble at their back, and on the other the representatives of the clerical body, comparatively few and weak in power, but strong in conscience and invincible in faith. The public felt little or no doubt as to the course the clergy would adopt: but yet there was a feverish anxiety to learn from their own lips how they would act. The suspense was quickly over. Upon being summoned to advance and take the oath of allegiance, a shout arose from the populace. "To the lamp-posts with all who refuse." This wild and alarming cry had no terror for the clergy: they were strong in faith and conscience. Order being restored, amid solemn and profound silence, the bishop of Agen arose and said: "The sacrifice of fortune would cost me little, but the sacrifice of your esteem and of my faith is what I cannot make, and I would be sure to forfeit both were I to take the oath required." This noble declaration was endorsed by the next in order, Mons. Fournet, a curé of the same diocese. "I glory," said this worthy representative of his order, "to follow the example of my bishop. I shall tread in his footsteps, as the deacon Lawrence did in those of his bishop, Sixtus. I shall follow him to martyr-

dom." The protest of Mons. Lechere, who was the third summoned to take the oath, was equally admirable and defiant. "I have been born a Catholic," said he, "and I shall die in that faith. I cannot take the oath you demand of me." The excitement and rage of the mob and of the members were now almost at their height, and exceeded all bounds as the venerable bishop of Poictiers, a man of three score and ten, advancing to the tribune said: "I am seventy years of age: thirty-three of these I have spent in the episcopacy. I shall not soil my white hairs by an oath accepting your decrees; I shall not swear." It was clear from this what the clergy were determined to do. To summon individually the others, was evidently only a waste of time and a further discomfiture of the government authorities. The order of single appellations was, accordingly, abandoned, and a scene of the wildest excitement, in which threats of the most terrifying character were freely indulged in against the clergy, ensued. The deputies left their places and gathered in groups, undecided as to how they should act. At length, order being somewhat restored, the president rose and summoned collectively all the ecclesiastics present to an acceptance of the decrees. "Let all who have not yet taken the oath, arise and advance." To this none responded. Not an ecclesiastic moved. All kept their places and observed a profound silence. This magnificent display of unshaken determination and firmness in the face of the danger that threatened them, had its immediate beneficial results. Twenty of those who had sworn to the constitution were converted and publicly retracted their act. Glorious, indeed, for the Church of France, had all of he fallen acted in like manner; but they did not. Out of 300 belonging to the Assembly, fifty or more still adhered to their act. But the refusal of the others, numbering so considerable a majority, is an evidence of the purity of their

motives and an answer to the charge of corruption made by the enemies of religion against the clergy of that date. For men, who are lost to all conscience, hesitate not as to the side they should take when there is question of life being in danger. In like manner, the clergy of Paris, to the number of 600 against 200, showed their abhorrence of the measure. It was the same in the provinces, a like firmness and adherence to the principles of their order having distinguished them, in the great majority. Thus out of 135 bishops and 50,000 clergy, only four of the former and six thousand of the latter, and these with mental restrictions, were found wanting.

War was now openly declared between the Church and the state. Both had taken a stand from which they could not recede. Every-where disorder, hatred, and opposition sprang up. The most sacred ties of friendship and kindred were rent asunder, and enmities and contentions begotten. Each parish became the theatre of the most reprehensible crimes, where passion and not reason was suffered to guide. Amongst the first acts of the Assembly in carrying out its designs, was the installation at Paris of one of the recreant prelates. With his aid and the example set by the weaker members of the clergy, it was hoped that the Church could be dragged into schism. But in this, the projectors were deceived. The clergy, all through the country, gave a noble example of fortitude, which reflects equally upon the land of their birth as upon the Church of which they were ministers. There were in some instances entire departments, such as Nismes, Montpellier, and Toulouse, where there was not a single recreant. What was in a measure more consolatory still, was the attitude of the people in repelling the government priests and adhering to their legitimate pastors. In some instances they even had recourse to arms to preserve their

rights and to withstand the intruders. Government, however, was still bent upon carrying out its programme, and in order to supply the vacancies caused by the bishops who refused the constitutional oath, twenty-one of the reformed clergy were raised to the episcopacy and commissioned by the Assembly. The legitimate occupants of the sees protested, as was their duty, against this usurpation of their rights, but their action was condemned and declared subversive of order! While these events were happening, the country awaited with breathless anxiety the action to be taken by the sovereign pontiff. His first communication on the troubled state of affairs, was called forth by a document of the cardinal-archbishop of Sens, who, as one of the signers, attempted to exculpate his action on the ground of having taken the oath without interior assent. To this the pontiff replied in forcible and energetic terms, reminding the prelate of the error he had committed and the dishonor he had brought on the Roman purple. "To allege," said his holiness, "in order to cover your fault, that your oath was merely exterior, that it was the lips and not the heart that gave utterance to it, is to have recourse to an excuse as false as it is unworthy. It is to employ the pernicious morality of a philosophy which has concocted this utterly unworthy subterfuge, to evade, I will not say the sanctity of an oath, but the natural probity of an honest man. And it has to be borne in mind that whenever this doctrine was brought forward it has ever been uniformly condemned by the Church!" This was more than the proud spirit of the schismatic cardinal could endure. He was sternly rebuked, and had either to retract or set himself in opposition to the holy see. The former he had not humility sufficient to do, and, accordingly, on the 26th of March, 1791, he returned his insignia as cardinal to the holy father. The sovereign pontiff now addressed a brief to the entire French episcopate, in

which he formally and solemnly condemned the action of government and the provisions of the civil constitution. This the bishops lost no time in communicating to their flocks, a course which so inflamed the passions of the revolutionists as to cause them to burn in effigy the pope and his brief. Matters by this time had come to a crisis all over the country. The clergy and civil authorities were then fairly engaged in a deadly struggle. The latter insisted on carrying out their decrees. The former pleaded the rights of conscience and the liberty of the subject; but these the intolerant spirit of the authorities were unwilling to concede. The fact was, the government was bent upon dragging the country into schism, an attempt that the clergy with all the chivalry of their order were determined to resist even unto death. No more magnificent testimony could be given of the power of conscience and the sustaining aid of divine grace, than the conduct of the priesthood under the circumstances. Day by day their condition was becoming more embarrassing. Public indignation was excited against them in every quarter, and the vilest of calumnies set afloat against their reputation. These were not very long in producing their baneful results. At Cahors, the religious were ordered out of the city, within four and twenty hours, and at Lot, they were publicly placarded as the common enemies of the human race, the instigators of murder, and the destroyers of the peace of families. Passion, by that time, had wholly taken the place of reason, and the excitement was such that at any moment the clergy were in danger of falling victims to the popular fury.

The leader of the revolutionary party, Mirabeau, having died at this juncture, the so-called bishop of Paris, Gobel, as if in cruel mockery of his usurped position, addressed an episcopal communication to those of his charge, in which he styled the defunct legislator the fairest ornament

of the rising Church, and ordered that his name should be inserted in prominent characters in the metropolitan archives as follows: "To Mirabeau, the father of our Church." The inscription, he forgot, was a contradiction of his own position.

The priests, who were deprived of their charges, were now necessitated to retire into the bosom of their families. There, without ostentation they exercised their sacred ministry in an unobtrusive manner, waiting for the moment when reason would again take the place of passion, and the country would once more act with justice in their regard. But even this hidden and unassuming course did not save them from the fury of their persecutors. The conduct of the virtuous in following their pastors and availing themselves in private of their services, gave umbrage to the malevolent and caused an uprising and outburst of public indignation against the defenceless members of the clergy, which shall ever remain as a blot on the history of France. Thus, on the 9th of April, while the faithful were celebrating the divine mysteries in a convent of religious, bands of excited, infuriated men proceeded to acts of violence and barbarity hardly to be expected from savage barbarians. Having dispersed the worshippers, they seized upon the trembling inmates, divested them of their religious garbs, and publicly whipped them amid the cries and blasphemies of the most indecent character. Thus did men who cried for liberty, violate its very first principles, by denying the right of worship to their fellow-men.

To prevent a recurrence of such horrible barbarity, Gobel, at the suggestion of the Assembly, prohibited any from assisting at the holy sacrifice of the mass, except in the churches appointed by government. This was virtually to exclude all but the schismatics, for none others than the constitutional clergy were permitted to officiate in the churches

of the metropolis. Numbers disregarded the prohibition and repaired as formerly to the private oratories and secret places where the divine mysteries were being celebrated. But this was at the peril of their lives, for the evil-minded were constantly on the alert, and not unfrequently intercepted their victims, and treated them with great personal violence.

In the provinces the excesses committed were, in some instances, even greater than those perpetrated at the capital. At Marseilles, Nismes and Montpellier, priests and females had their ears cut off, and, thus mutilated, were paraded on asses through the town, amid the jeers and jests of the rabble. Bordeaux, Casoule and Montcontour were witnesses of somewhat kindred excesses. At the last place a priest was so severely maltreated that he died on the following day.

During this state of affairs, the monarch was merely king in name; he had no real power. Had it depended upon him, religion would not have been outraged after that fashion. He was indeed Catholic in sentiment and heart, but he was weak-minded, and temporizing. To save his conscience and yet be on amicable terms with the Assembly, was the great problem that troubled him. But in this he was attempting an impossibility; he was trying to unite right and wrong, to serve God and man. That was tried before, and has been since, but always without success. Catholic at heart the king, now that the paschal season had arrived, desired to approach the sacraments of the Church. He feared, however, the guilt of a sacrilegious communion, and on the other hand by abstaining he dreaded the censures of religion. In his perplexity he consulted the bishop of Clermont and by his advice deferred approaching the altar. But this did not prevent him from assisting regularly at the holy sacrifice of the mass, until he was accused by the As-

sembly of creating disorder by harboring ecclesiastics in his palace—a remonstrance which so alarmed the weak-minded monarch, that he presently ordered away those of the clergy who had found an asylum under his protection. Nay more, to accommodate himself further to the wishes of parliament, he assisted publicly at Easter at a constitutional mass, and dismissed from his post of ambassador Monseigneur de Berins, on that dignitary's refusal to take the constitutional oath.

The pernicious effects of the action of the Assembly were now plainly to be seen all over the country. The newly-installed, constitutional priests were every-where shunned by the people: their churches were empty and their ministrations unsought. On the other hand, the faithful priests were still dearer than ever to their respective flocks, the people, in all instances, attending their ministrations whenever opportunity offered. But this was always at the risk and, oftentimes, at the cost, of their lives, for whenever discovered by the military they were treated with such violence as resulted, on several occasions, in the death of some of the faithful. Still the people were ready to expose themselves to danger of this nature, in so holy a cause. Seeing the resolution thus manifested by a very considerable number of the inhabitants, a law was enacted prohibiting the clergy in the northern provinces from residing nearer than a distance of six leagues from their original parishes. By a clause of the same enactment, every priest, except the constitutional clergy, who should administer a sacrament, became thereby liable to an imprisonment of six months, the same penalty applying to the laity, who should receive his ministration, or who should make known any brief or document, emanating from the sovereign pontiff.

Hitherto, the government had contented itself with deposing the faithful clergy, and putting in their stead the

constitutional priests; but now, on the 19th of June, the Assembly took a step in advance and empowered its servants to pursue with pains and penalties those of the clergy who, either in public or private, should continue their functions. It is, accordingly, from that point that the persecution assumed its most alarming proportions. That was the beginning of that terrible storm that immediately after burst with such destructive violence over the whole Church of France, deluging the country, from end to end, in the blood of its best and holiest children. Without waiting even for a violation of the enactment of government, the officers of the law, armed with these irresponsible powers, every-where scoured the country, and dragged to prison the faithful ministers of religion, wherever discovered. The prisons of the nation were, in consequence, rapidly filled with ecclesiastics who preferred their duty before their position. At Brest, the populace loudly demanded their death, and it was with difficulty that the municipality could save them. Several to avoid the danger in which they were placed, fled the country and took refuge in Spain, but for the great body, this was impracticable. The king, too, attempted to escape, but was intercepted and brought back to the capital, where he was suspended from his functions. The news of his flight, but not of his capture, having reached the eternal city, the sovereign pontiff immediately wrote a confidential and consoling letter to the unfortunate monarch. But the communication having unhappily fallen into the hands of the king's enemies, it was published and a strong feeling of indignation aroused thereby against the papal authority. To avenge themselves the revolutionists annexed to the state the Church's possessions at Avignon, on the ground that the pontifical authority there was insufficient to maintain public order. This was followed by the most frightful excesses in the shape of plunderings, massacres and horrors

of all kinds, the principal agent of these, the nefarious Jourdan, earning for himself the unenviable soubriquet of decapitator, or *Coupe-tete*, on account of the number of his victims.

The first national Assembly had now terminated its labors and framed a constitution which was signed by the king. Immediately thereafter was granted a general amnesty in accordance with which the imprisoned clergy were to be restored to freedom; but this was not carried out to the letter. Meantime the first national Assembly was followed by what was termed the legislative Assembly, which commenced its labors on the 1st of October, 1791. Nearly all the members of this body were the bitterest enemies of religion; they were composed mainly of the Jacobins, with Robespierre at their head, and of the Cordeliers who recognized Danton as their leader. One of the first acts of this new legislative body was the appointment of commissioners to inquire into the cause of the disturbances in the country, particularly in the western portion. To understand this, the members need not have appointed any commission. A little reflection upon the tyrannical proceedings instituted by government, would have taught them the origin of all the discontent then existing in the nation. But they were not liberal-minded enough to view matters thus, and hence the appointment of men whose sentiments were precisely their own and who were sure to report in accordance with their masters' desires. The result proved the correctness of this. The cause of all the disturbance and opposition to government, according to the newly-appointed examiners, were the incendiary and inflammatory writings and addresses of the bishops and priests to the people. As evidence, they instanced the pastoral instructions of the bishop of Lucon, who in his address to his clergy permitted them to celebrate the divine mysteries whenever it was possible in private and with the plainest of ornaments. The same venerable

prelate in the same instructions, drew a touching and forcible parallel in the following language, between the then existing state of France and the condition of the primitive Christians: "The first Christians had no other temple than their houses; it was there that pastor and people met to celebrate the holy mysteries, to hear the word of God, and to chant the praises of the Lord. During the persecution with which the Church was afflicted, forced to abandon basilicas, the people had to retire into the caves and the tombs. And yet these times of trial were for the faithful the epoch of the greatest fervor." In the immediately preceding part the bishop had told his clergy that when they found it impossible to find a suitable dwelling, they might celebrate the divine mysteries in barns or sheds, if no other suitable place could be secured, and, if need should be, with chalices of tin. This was the character of the writings that the enemies of religion characterized as incendiary and inflammatory. The same men would, on like grounds, have pronounced the writings of the Evangelists or the sermons of the Son of God himself, of a like character, if it suited their purpose. But these were the only grounds on which the faithful clergy could be plausibly incriminated and held up to the malevolent as disturbers of the community. The same was alleged against Christ and his Apostles.

One is not astonished then at finding the Assembly, thus counselled by its agents, gravely deliberating whether exceptional legislation were not needed for the refractory clergy, or whether they should not be condemned and proscribed as a body *en masse*. It was even seriously contemplated to refuse liberty of conscience to the Catholics at all. Such was the contradiction of these men that while they clamored in behalf of this boon; they were the first to refuse it to others. In the debates that followed a discussion of

these measures, all the evils of the country were referred to the clergy. What is more humiliating still is the fact that those enemies of God and man were supported in their attacks upon religion by some of the constitutional priests who exceeded in violence even the lay members themselves. Nor was this the only scandal that these apostate members of the Church of God had given. Carried away by the wild current of popular events, they now reclaimed for themselves the right which they solemnly abjured before the altar of God when they entered the ranks of the clergy—they claimed the liberty of espousing wives! They did not even await the action of government; but with a haste which betrayed beyond doubt the motives by which they were influenced, they took to themselves partners, to the great scandal and disedification of the country at large. At the same time, the most frightful excesses were being perpetrated all over the kingdom. At Avignon the people, driven to despair by the violence of their oppressors, assassinated the secretary of the municipality, an act which served as a pretext to the infamous *Coupe-tete* for the perpetration of still more horrible barbarities. No bounds or moderation were observed in retaliation for this crime. All indiscriminately who fell into the hands of this butcher were slaughtered without regard to age, sex, or condition. About sixty suspects, who had been shut up in the apostolic palace, were butchered in cold blood on the nights of the 16th and 17th of October, and their bodies cast into a reservoir. The indignation caused by this act of wanton barbarity sent a thrill of horror through all France, and caused the Assembly to order the arrest of the perpetrators; but the real motives that influenced that body in this may be learned from its subsequent act in pardoning the same at the behests of the Jacobins of Paris and Marseilles.

Again at liberty, Jourdan was free to follow his former

course, which he did. Betaking himself, in the first instance, to Arles, where he was carried in triumph by his associates, he returned to the scene of his former inglorious achievements, where all instrumental in having him arrested, fell victims to his vengeance. Amid this universal chaos into which the country was now deeply plunged, and from which it seemed all but impossible to draw anything like order, the Assembly appeared oblivious to everything but the gratification of its own unworthy desires and revengeful feelings. To overthrow the Church, to destroy religion, and this by detaching the clergy from their allegiance to Rome, was the one only object of the rulers of that time. Accordingly a law was enacted requiring the clergy under the penalty of being regarded as traitors and deprived of their stipend, to come forward and sign within eighty days the civil constitution.

CHAPTER X.

THE KING REFUSES TO PUT HIS SIGNATURE TO CERTAIN ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY—A RUPTURE CAUSED IN CONSEQUENCE—THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BECOMES ALL POWERFUL AND PERPETRATES GREAT EXCESSES—INFIDELITY BECOMES RAMPANT—THE CLERGY ACCUSED OF BEING THE AUTHORS OF ALL THE DISCORD IN THE COUNTRY AND THROWN INTO PRISON—MANY OF THEM ESCAPE OUT OF THE COUNTRY—NUMBERS OF THEM MASSACRED—40,000 PRIESTS FIND A REFUGE IN ITALY—ROME OCCUPIED BY THE FRENCH TROOPS—THE POPE TAKEN PRISONER—NAPOLEON RESTORES TO FRANCE THE FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION—THE POPE GOES TO PARIS TO CROWN THE EMPEROR—NAPOLEON IS OUTWITTED BY THE POPE—ROME OCCUPIED A SECOND TIME—THE POPE DRAGGED INTO FRANCE.

The measure spoken of in the concluding portion of the last chapter was not passed into law, for the monarch had not yet appended to it his signature. Taking advantage of this and with the conviction that the provisions of the code could not be consçientiously endorsed, the clergy of Paris addressed a petition to the king praying his majesty to refuse his assent. This was followed by another of a like nature from the Directory of the Department of the Seine. The king had conscience and firmness enough left to accede to the petitioners' prayer; he vetoed the bill. His action was the occasion of an outburst of popular indignation such as has rarely been witnessed in any civilized country. The enemies of religion were furious and the press became the vehicle of the most violent and inflamatory language. In the Assembly the royal prerogative was openly questioned and fiercely assailed, but the veto had still its effect—the measure was not regarded as law. By many of the departmental directories and municipalities, however, it was

received and acted upon as if it had received the royal assent and obtained all the requisite forms necessary for constitutional law. At Brest, for example, all the faithful priests, to the number of 500 or more, were arrested and cast into prison. Nor was this disavowed by the Assembly; on the contrary, it received its endorsement. Kindred violence was offered the clergy in other localities, especially in those under the influence and inspiration of the Socialistic clubs of Paris, whose ramifications were extended over the greater part of the country. In some instances, indeed, the faithful clergy were not thrown into prison, but yet were subjected to annoyances and made the objects of tyranny hardly less trying. Thus at Toulouse, the monks were prohibited wearing their ecclesiastical costume and their monasteries were closed. At Nantes, the clergy were not at liberty to proceed farther than two kilometres from the cathedral. At Rennes, any but a constitutional priest who should celebrate mass, was liable to a fine of thirty francs, while for three or more priests to be found together was an offense to be followed by imprisonment. These and a thousand like annoying restrictions, rendered the lives of the faithful priests, at that eventful moment, a continual martyrdom.

The departmental directories, indeed, did not always sanction the proceedings of the municipalities. With a consciousness that the tyrannical proceedings were not in accordance with the spirit of the constitution, which accorded liberty of worship to all, they withstood the violent proceedings of the authorities so as to cause them, in some instances, as at Auch, to give in their resignation. But if this were an advantage in one sense, it was a disadvantage in another; for while it restrained the tyrannical action of the municipal bodies, it roused almost to frenzy the passions of the revolutionary mob. The directories were not

even always sufficiently powerful to resist the demands of the revolutionists. Hence, at Arras the national guard compelled the directory to close the churches. In fact it was not then a question between the revolutionary party and the clergy, but between religion on the one hand and infidelity on the other. For a time the cry of "refractory priests" served for a purpose: it deluded the people and enabled the governing powers to conceal their designs and cloak their intentions, which were the destruction of all supernatural religion in the country. Hence at this stage, the discharge of the sacerdotal functions, whether by the faithful or constitutional clergy, was a crime in the eyes of the infidel party and not to be tolerated. The spirit that then dominated and influenced the authorities may be inferred from the fact that imprisonment and exile were the penalties awarded to those who accepted the oath with the clause, as far as it was not contrary to religion. Nay venerable men, for having preached on the marks of the Church, were made to pay for their devotion to the duties of their office by incarceration for considerable periods.

The same spirit, a deep-rooted hatred of all religion, also manifested itself on other occasions and in divers other manners, especially in the efforts made to wholly prevent even in private the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass. Hence to effect such a purpose, the agents of the Assembly were careful to abstract from their owners the ornaments and vessels requisite for the celebration of the divine mysteries. To this end they entered the dwellings of the faithful and made use of their authority to appropriate even the secular goods of their victims. The wild, intolerant, anti-Christian spirit that thus possessed the authors of these and such like deeds, manifested itself now in a still more intolerant manner. Hitherto the clergy were the main objects of their violence and hatred, but

"abyssus abyssum invocat" was true in their case. The holy, female religious, whose lives were spent in well-doing and works of benevolence in behalf of their fellow-man, and whose sex, condition and philanthropy should have been their protection and shielded them from the violence of the most abandoned, were not exempted from the insults and maltreatment of the revolutionary brigands. Hence at Langres, the mob in its delirium broke into the convent, dragged the trembling religious from the foot of the altar, where they had fled for protection, and dispersed them amid a thousand imprecations and blasphemies. At Rochelle another band of a like character forced the convent doors, demanded the religious to acknowledge the constitutional priest, and upon receiving a refusal proceeded to the horrible extreme of publicly scourging the inmates. But, in vain, for these holy women who had consecrated their lives to God, were only too glad to have it in their power to suffer for Him who laid down his life for their sake on Mount Calvary.

From the clergy and female communities, the spirit of irreligion was directed against the Catholics in general. On the other hand, the intruders, finding themselves wholly abandoned by the faithful, appealed to the authorities to compel the believers to attend their ministrations. It was a novel and lamentable spectacle to behold the pastor of a district employing an army to force his parishioners to church! But despite every effort, the unhappy intruders were left almost entirely to themselves. This was, indeed, a matter of little or no consequence to the revolutionists, except in as far as it indicated a determination not to apostatize. The real object of the foremost men of that period being to banish all religion from the earth, whatever tended to that end was sure to merit their approval and obtain their endorsement. Therefore, the cordial reception accorded to the infamous

work written by the constitutional curé of St. Lawrence entitled "Accord de la religion et des cultes chez une nation libre." The object of that work was to banish God from creation and to replace his divine worship by that of the worship of nature. Hence, the unmeaning parades, pompous shows and pagan observances, which at that date usurped for an hour in Catholic France, the worship of the true God and the majestic ceremonies of our holy and time-honored religion. This was the ultimate and logical consequence of the efforts of men who discarded divine revelation and sought only the gratification of their animal passions.

The hatred that such a system engendered in the breasts of the revolutionary party, may be judged from the following extract of a speech delivered at that time by Legendre one of the leaders of the Jacobin party. "Let the refractory priest be punished severely until his head is laid on the block or his body consigned to the hulks. Let not the country hesitate for a moment to rid itself wholly of his presence, for a poisonous animal should not be sent to one's neighbor. At Brest there are vessels so formed that when filled with *immondice* they are sunk in the sea. The same should be done with the priests, with this only difference, that in their case they should not be sunk near at hand but, in the open sea. When a husbandman finds a maggot he crushes it with his heel." The ideas contained in this horrible address, so far from being reprobated, were shared in by the majority of the Assembly. If they did not proceed to carry them out to the letter, it was not from any scruple of wrong, but from a fear of offending the susceptibilities of the age. The destruction of the clergy, however, was a matter on which they had firmly fixed their minds. The work was commenced by the suppresion of the religious communities. On the 6th of April, 1792, a report was pre-

sented to the Assembly accusing the clergy of being the authors of discord, of having abandoned their original purpose, and calling for their suppression. The measure did not meet with much opposition. After a little discussion it passed the usual forms, and the House proceeded in the second place to the suppression of the ecclesiastical dress. A man might array himself as a lama, a talapoin, or a Brahmin, but not as a Catholic priest. He might be clad, in poor or costly apparel, in an ancient or modern style, but not in the livery of the order to which he belonged and of which he was a member. This was the interpretation given by the revolutionary party to the principles of liberty of which they claimed to be the guardians and exponents. Nor was this sufficient to satisfy the antipathy of these men. In truth it was not against the dress, but against the wearers that they were incensed. This was made evident immediately after when one of the ministers presented a document in which he unduly represented the deplorable state of affairs in the country, attributing them to the conduct of the clergy, and calling for additional measures to be taken against the ministers of religion. This was supported by some of the members, who indulged in the most violent language, charging the clergy with being the authors and origin of all the then existing evils. Such a spirit of hostility it was plain was not likely to be appeased but by the destruction of the objects that excited it. One is not accordingly surprised at finding that a decree for the banishment of the refractory clergy was passed by the Assembly. This, however, did not constitute it law ; the royal signature was still deemed necessary for all such documents. His majesty refused to endorse the enactment, and when assured that it was not different in character from that of the civil constitution to which he had already appended his signature, he replied by acknowledging his error and

deploring the assent he had given. "I have made one grievous mistake and I don't desire to add to it." Thereupon the ministry gave in their resignation and an open rupture was effected between the monarch and his parliament. Louis, was not at all unaware of the critical position in which he was placed. He was thoroughly convinced that in obeying his conscience, by refusing consent to the infamous measure, he was imperilling his life. "I know" said he, "that I am going to death, but I pardon my enemies." The king was not incorrect in his judgment; he knew the temper of the men he had to deal with. His veto was probably even more desired than his signature; for it furnished a pretext for raising a cry against royalty.

The revolutionary party all over the country were thrown into a ferment of rage on learning of the royal determination, nor did this deter them from proceeding against the clergy. On the contrary, it made them even more violent still, and hence in numerous localities the priests were seized in considerable numbers and cast into prison where for days they were treated with the utmost rigor, not being allowed either beds or food! The ordinary prison being insufficient, the clergy in several instances were confined in the diocesan seminaries, but subject to all the inconveniences of real prison life. Night and day the search went on, the agents of government dragging their victims from the caves, grottoes, private abodes or wherever else the hope of concealment had dictated to them the possibility of obtaining a temporary asylum. It was a deplorable sight to behold venerable men who had spent their lives in the ministry, laboring in behalf of their fellow-men, and who were now on the brink of the grave, bowed down by years and infirmities dragged, like the commonest malefactors through the streets of their respective towns and cast into dungeons,

for no other crime than that of being priests of the Catholic Church. But the wild spirit of the hour was an outburst ot fury and passion that acknowledged no reason.

The prisons were now every-where full. The Assembly however hesitated for the moment from proceeding to the work of transporting the inmates without the royal assent. To do so under such circumstances would be plainly in violation of the first principles of constitutional law, if any vestiges of that nature might be still said to adhere to the legislation of the time. But at least appearances were preserved. It only remained to the government then to have recourse to a stratagem. This they did by permiting the imprisoned clergy of Brest to retire from the country. Many naturally took advantage of the offer and proceeded to Spain, some to Portugal, and some to Italy.

Meantime, numbers from the provinces hastened to Paris, deeming themselves in greater security there than elsewhere: but many of these, not having money or friends, were necessitated to engage in the most menial employments to obtain a subsistence. The good people of the capital were not indeed wholly indifferent to the sufferings of these glorious confessors for the faith, and subscriptions were accordingly got up for their aid. But yet it was difficult to meet the requirements of all, and hence it was nothing uncommon to encounter at that time learned and venerable ecclesiastics acting in disguise as porters or gardeners in wealthy establishments. In this manner the priests at the capital were comparatively secure, for the authorities were too much engaged in preparing for the dethronement of the king to extend to the clergy any considerable amount of attention. In the provinces, matters were less favorable in their regard. At Avignon, Bordeaux, and elsewhere the revolutionists continued to imbrue their hands in the blood of these faithful servants

of God. During these horrid scenes, many touching and heroic instances were witnessed; but none perhaps more affecting than that of the Abbe Novi, a young and zealous priest of only eight and twenty years. To gain this virtuous priest, the murderers summoned his aged father and pointing to the victim urged him to employ his paternal influence to save his son by getting him to accept the oath. It was a dreadful ordeal and more than the father's natural affection was able to stand. He yielded and bursting into tears begged his son to comply with the demand, uttering amid sobs the words, "My son save me my life in saving your own." The son was nobler by far than the father. He answered: "I shall do better my father; I shall die worthy of you and of my God."

While the provinces were thus, the scenes of the most dreadful and shameful excesses, the Assembly on its part was not wholly inactive. On the 4th of August, 1792, a measure was adopted confiscating to government all the religious establishments of the kingdom, Thus 50,000 persons, many of them aged and infirm, were at once thrown on the world, helpless and indigent. Nor did this satisfy the demands of the rabble. As long as a priest remained in the country, the hatred of the revolutionists was not to be appeased. To banish the clergy entirely from the land of their birth, or to get rid of them by a general massacre, was the ardent desire of their enemies. The latter, as we shall see, was in many instances partially effected. At Paris by order of the municipality, all the faithful clergy were arrested and confined in the Carmes. The reign of terror had by this time fairly commenced in all its horrid and frightful proportions. On the 16th of August an order was issued commanding the appropriation of all the brazen utensils appertaining to the churches, the object being to convert them into implements of war. Thus the

symbol of man's redemption, that token of peace and good will amongst men, was unnaturally converted into an instrument destined to carry death and destruction to many! The gold and silver ornaments, the chandeliers and clocks, were seized upon for a kindred purpose, to supply the sinews of war!

Three days prior to the date that government resolved upon the confiscation of the Church utensils, a project of law was proposed in the Assembly for the banishment of all clergy within a fortnight. It was contemplated deporting them to the torrid, inhospitable island of Cayenne, on the very conscientious and reasonable grounds of the injury that would be effected by sending so dreadful a pest to the neighboring countries! This measure, however severe, was not sufficiently satisfactory for the enemie sof religion. The authorities preferred a more expeditious way of settling the matter. Indeed it was now freely discussed and commonly debated whether it would not be better to get rid of the clergy at once by a general slaughter. Even petitions and addresses to this effect were forwarded to the Assembly. In a committee consisting of Marat, Legendre, an apostate priest, and two others, the slaughter of the clergy was determined on. Danton, the Minister of Justice, was to see that the project was executed. Meantime, the victims were left under the impression that at the worst their lives were to be spared. While they were enjoying then the hope of obtaining at least some measure of liberty by being transferred from a prison cell to a penal colony, their enemies were appointing the men who were to act as their executioners. Everything even to the removing of the stains of blood, was determined on and regulated in that cool and methodical manner which shows that the act was not the effect of a sudden, uncontrollable outburst of passion, but the result of a calm, premeditated, unappeasable

hatred of religion. The news of the taking of Verdun by the Prussians at this critical moment was eagerly laid hold of and served as an admirable pretext for the accomplishment of this project. To this was added, to further inflame the passions of the mob, the supposed discovery of an extensive conspiracy in which the clergy were said to be engaged, and which had for its object the betrayal of the capital into the hands of the Prussians and the massacre of the revolutionary party. The calumny was eagerly received and believed by the rabble. The passions of the mob were, accordingly, fully aroused and all that was necessary was to suffer the infuriated populace to rush upon their victims. It was agred upon between the authorities and the leaders of the rabble, that the signal for delivering over into the hands of the latter the incarcerated clergy, should be the third discharge of a cannon from Point-Neuf. At this signal a rush was made for the prisons. In the Carmes, 120 fell by the swords of the mob. The details of this butchery are of so shocking a nature as to defy parallel. The victims who had gathered in the garden were sabred and shot like so many helpless children, offering no resistence. The same, only on a less moderate scale, took place in the courtyard of the abbey, where about sixty priests were butchered in cold-blood. The account given of the occurrence by an eye-witness, the Abbé Lecard, is this: "The massacre took place under my window. The cries of the victims, the blows of the sabres as they fell upon the heads of the innocent victims, the shouts of the murderers, the applause of the witnesses, all resounded in my soul. I even distinguished the voices of my confreres, who were arrested and brought in the night before. I heard the questions put to them and the responses they gave. They asked them if they had taken the civil oath, but none had done so. All could have escaped death

by a lie; but all preferred death! All said when dying: 'We are subject to your law, we die faithful to your constitution, we except only what regards religion and what has reference to conscience.' They were immediately pierced by numerous swords, amid the vociferations the most frightful. The spectators while applauding cried out: 'Long live the nation!' at the same time that they executed abominable dances around the corpses.

"Towards three or four o'clock in the morning, similar cries, tumult and ribaldry were repeated. This was in consequence of their bringing into the court-yard, now strewn with corpses, two priests whom they had dragged from their beds. The executioners jested over the horrible scene. The two priests were asked to take the oath, but they refused with mildness and firmness. Seeing themselves on that account condemned to death, they demanded a few hours to prepare themselves and they obtained their request. The assassins employed the interval in removing the bodies, in washing and sweeping the court-yard red with blood—a work which caused them considerable difficulty. To avoid this in the case of the others who were about to be massacred, they proposed various expedients and, finally, agreed upon employing a quantity of straw on which they would butcher their victims and which would absorb the blood and prevent the pavement from being stained. One of the assassins complained that the aristocrats died too quickly; that only those in the front rank had the pleasure of striking them. It was, accordingly, determined that the victims should be struck only with the back of the sabres and that they should be made run between two files of assassins, as was formerly done in the case of those soldiers who were condemned to the lash. It was determined that around the place where the victims were to be immolated there should be benches for the ladies and gentle-

men. All were free to enter. All this I have seen and heard with my own eyes and ears. I have seen the ladies of the abbey assemble around the bed prepared for the victims, as they would have done at a great show. I have said that the ladies of the abbey hastened in crowds to the scenes of horror, which took place in this awful inclosure. It may well be imagined what kind of ladies they were. These same asked the committee where I was, that they might 'have the pleasure of seeing at their ease the aristocrat slaughtered.' To meet their wishes a lamp was placed at the head of each body and the ladies enjoyed this horrible illumination."

Thus the work of slaughter went on, the priests being every-where dragged to their doom and brutally murdered, until at length the Assembly itself, the author and instigator of all the disorder and violence then existing in the country, became suddenly alarmed at the proportions the bloody proceedings had ultimately assumed, and in consequence, issued a decree holding the municipality responsible for the protection of life and property in the future. This order, however, produced little or no result; the butchery went on all the same, the only difference being that the number of the clergy being now considerably less, the number of victims was proportionately fewer. In short, the rage of the revolutionists was not even satisfied after one half of the clergy of Paris had fallen their victims. They still thirsted for the blood of the others; yea, they sought even the lives of all in the country. Hence, these enemies of God and man demanded of the Assembly to summon the imprisoned clergy from all parts of the country to the capital. The local authorities knowing the danger that awaited their charge, refused in several instances to comply with the demand. They hastened, rather, to take advantage of the law that commanded the expatri-

ation of the priests. But even in this their humane dispositions were partially thwarted, the revolutionists taking advantage of the transport of the victims to the ports, to fall upon and massacre them. Nor were the clergy always safe after reaching the ports. At Nantes over 200 priests perished by being put on board a vessel that was expressly sunk, for the purpose of taking the lives of these faithful men. The female religious were no less objects of hatred to the evil-minded of the community ; several perished at the hands of the executioners, rather than betray their conscience. At Valenciennes, eleven Ursuline nuns were martyred. Fourteen Carmelites and two others had perished a few months previous, their only crime being that they were royalists and devoted religious. While again, forty-two others of different Orders, who were confined in the prisons of Orange perished in the same noble cause.

Although hundreds of the clergy perished in the manner just described, the great body, however, effected their escape, as many as 40,000 having obtained refuge in the Pontifical States. But even in exile, the hatred of their enemies pursued them. The cordial reception given them in Italy highly incensed the revolutionary authorities against the sovereign pontiff. In retaliation, they contemplated seizing upon the Pontifical States. An unfortunate occurrence which happened at Rome at this time, furnished a pretext for this. Basseville, an agent of the French consul, was accidently killed in a melee, by an unknown person. Immediately his death was seized upon for commencing hostilities, and reparation was accordingly demanded of the Pontifical government. The Directory further required the sovereign pontiff to disapprove, revoke and annul all bulls, briefs and rescripts issued by the holy see regarding France, since 1789, as also to con-

demn what the French episcopate had done in resisting the demands of government. The holy father answered his persecutors, informing them that his conscience would not permit him to accede to their demands, even at the peril of his life. The consequence all are aware of.

Rome was occupied by a French force and the republic proclaimed. On the 15th of February, 1798, General Cervoni proceeded to the Vatican to announce to the holy father that he was no longer a temporal sovereign, and that he had to select his place of residence out of Rome. The pope chose Florence. From that very moment matters went ill with the republicans. Napoleon was defeated in Egypt, and the acquisitions he had made in Italy began to pass rapidly into other hands. Fearing lest the pope might fall into the hands of the Austrians, the Directory had him removed from Florence to Parma, thence to Turin, and finally to France.

The enthusiasm that the pope's presence called forth on the route, was immense and clearly demonstrated the affection that existed in the hearts of the people for the vicar of Christ. Meanwhile, the Directory continued to pursue its iniquitous course regarding the clergy. The law regarding the deportation of the religious was rigorously carried into effect, and 11,000 priests were banished to the island of Rhe, while a considerable number were sent to Cayenne. The observance of the Sunday was prohibited, pagan festivals were established, and thus to this low state of degradation did Catholic France reduce itself by rejecting the doctrines of Christ.

On the 18th of September, 1801, Napoleon signed a concordat with Pius VII., restoring to France the free exercise of the Catholic religion. However tyrannical and unjust other acts of the same ruler may have been, this at least reflects upon him the highest credit and was a measure for which Catholic

France can never be sufficiently grateful. For France was then on the very verge of a schism and any further prolongation of the contest between the nation and the Church might have plunged the country irretrievably into error. Moreover, Napoleon's vanity and ambition were severely tested. He was earnestly pressed by England and Russia to discard the sovereign pontiff's authority, and to make himself the spiritual head of the nation. He resisted, however, such solicitations, and for this, posterity must ever cherish a respect for his memory. Though Napoleon had a sense of religion sufficiently strong to prevent him from detaching the country from communion with Rome, he was still ambitious enough to attempt to profit by the situation by making the Church and the pontiff subservient to his views. He, accordingly, published, independently of the concordat, a number of provisions which he styled organic articles, whereby the clergy were made wholly dependent on the civil power. These the pope and the clergy resisted with all their might, and though the articles were never revoked, some fell into disuse in course of time, while others became sanctioned by custom.

In 1803, Cardinal Fesh, the emperor's uncle, went on a mission to Rome, with the object of getting the holy father to come to Paris to crown his nephew. Napoleon, in an autograph letter, urged his petition strongly. The pope consented; but after he had performed the ceremony, he found that there was more in the demand than he had contemplated. He was virtually a prisoner. His return to Rome was not at his command. But it was not till it was intimated to him that he might inhabit a privileged quarter in Paris, that the object aimed at became clear to him. The pope was to be the creature of Napoleon; the pope was to govern the world, but Napoleon was to govern him. The project was a futile attempt to fetter the free action of the

papacy, and like all such efforts, necessarily fell to the ground. Forecasting the possibility of some such design, Pius, before leaving Rome, had made provision therefor, by signing his own abdication in case any attempt were made upon his personal liberty. "In case, then, I am retained," said the holy father, addressing Napoleon, "I am no longer pope; you have merely in your keeping a poor monk who is called Barnaba Chiaramonti." This was more than the emperor had contemplated; he was plainly outwitted! It was not a monk that he required, but the pope; and, finding he could not have the latter, he immediately permitted Pius to leave. This, however, was not the end of the pope's trouble with Napoleon. Shortly after, the newly-crowned emperor made a demand on the holy father to annul the marriage contracted in America between Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest brother, and Miss Paterson, a Protestant. The pope's inability to comply, threw the emperor into a violent rage and caused him in retaliation to seize upon Ancona. At the same time he made the most unreasonable demand of His Holiness, requiring him to expel all the Russians, English, and Swedes then residing in the country. Upon the pope's refusal, Napoleon recalled his uncle, Cardinal Fesh, from the post of ambassador at Rome, having him replaced by a Protestant, an appointment evidently intended as an affront to the sovereign pontiff. Nor did the emperor stop at that; he took possession of all the principal places in the Pontifical States and required the holy father to close all the ports of his dominions against England, in case of a war between that power and France. To this the pope firmly demurred; but his refusal was at the loss to him of his capital, for, on the 2nd of February, 1808, the French troops occupied Rome. On the 10th of June of the following year, a decree of the emperor was published declaring the Pontifical States thenceforth an in-

tegral portion of French territory. The reasons assigned for this sacrilegious usurpation of the Church's possessions, was the alleged donation of the territory in the first instance by a French monarch.

The occupation of Rome was followed by a bull of excommunication, which appeared on the walls of the city the morning following the occupation. This did not intimidate the persecutor; he still continued in his iniquitous course, and became even emboldened by success. On the 6th of July, General Radet appeared at the Vatican and demanded of the pontiff, in the name of Napoleon, a renunciation of the temporal power. The holy father answered with all the firmness and dignity of an Apostle: "The temporal power belongs to the Church, and we are only its administrators." The general had anticipated the pope's reply, for he had in waiting at the palace gate a carriage. Into that the pope and his minister, Cardinal Pacca, were made to enter, and rapidly hurried away amid the tears and lamentations of those in attendance. Every-where along the route the same marks of veneration and attachment were shown the venerable captive. The people pressed in crowds around his carriage and feelingly implored his benediction, now doubly appreciable from the fact of his being more like his divine master. To embitter his position more, his faithful minister was now separated from him, nor was it permitted him to converse with any one, except in presence of a guard.

Not only did the persecutor seize upon the person of the venerable pontiff, but on the cardinals, too, who, except in case of sickness, were in like manner deported into France. The object of the emperor in this, was clear to all. He hoped, in case of the pope's death, to be able to influence the conclave, and to have a person of his own choice appointed to the office. From the very be-

ginning the scheme was found wanting. The emperor, to his chagrin, found that he could not bend the chief pastor to his will in anything, where the interests of the Church were at stake. The first evidence he had of this nature, was the refusal on the part of the pope to recognize the newly-appointed constitutional bishops. In his embarrassment, Napoleon appointed a commission to arrange matters independent of the pope. This was, as it were, attempting to erect a building without a foundation. The members of the commission were Cardinals Fesh and Maury; the archbishop of Tours, the bishops of Evereux, Verceil, Treves, and Nantes, with the general of the Barnabites and the Abbe Emery. The subjects discussed were the government of the Church in general, the concordat lately entered into, the special wants of the German and Italian Churches, as well as the bull of excommunication issued by his holiness before being dragged forcibly from his capital. This little coterie of dignitaries betrayed the trust which as guardians of the truth they were bound to respect. They justified the emperor in all his acts, exonerating him from all blame, even in the occupation of Rome. They were the Photians and Cranmers of their time, as indeed their subsequent conduct proved even more fully.

That the emperor's object in conducting the pope to Paris was to continue the pontifical court at that capital nothing more clearly demonstrates than the fact that he had transported thither all the pontifical archives. That the emperor intended using the pope for his own unworthy ends, is also clear from the measure then adopted by the senate, whereby every pope-elect should swear never to make any alteration in the articles of the Gallican declaration of 1682.

Napoleon seeing now that he could not succeed in hav-

ing the appointments made by himself to the various vacant sees recognized by the pope, had recourse to strategy. At the suggestion of Card. Maury, one of the members of the commission, he ordered the various metropolitan chapters to proceed to the election of vicars-capitulars, but required that there be appointed to those offices the parties designated by himself. This was virtually making the appointments himself; it was the *conge d' elire* of the Anglican system. To thwart this nefarious design, Pius addressed to the clergy of France three briefs which were every-where received with respect and prevented the contemplated scheme. The metropolitan chapters, faithful to conscience, refused to elect the nominees of the emperor. This was more than the emperor had anticipated, and seeing himself thus thwarted by the pope and the clergy, his anger knew no bounds. To revenge himself for what he regarded as a grevious violation of authority, he had recourse to petty contrivances and unworthy annoyances, to which those of elevated sentiments never resort even in the moment of defeat. The pope's liberty was thenceforth entirely restricted; he was no longer at liberty to communicate with any of the faithful. His private correspondence and books of devotion, even to his breviary and the office of the Blessed Virgin were taken from him; while to crown all this insult the prefect of the department, at the command of his master, wrote to the illustrious captive the following brutal communication:

"The undersigned in accordance with instructions received from his imperial and royal majesty Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and mediator of Switzerland, is charged to notify Pius VII. that it is prohibited him to hold any communication with any church in the empire, or any subject of the empire, *under the pain of disobedience on his part*

and theirs. The pope who preaches rebellion and whose soul is filled with venom, ceases to be the organ of the Church. And since he will not act reasonably he will see that his majesty is sufficiently powerful to do what his majesty's predecessors have done, namely to depose a pope."

Like his divine master, the venerable pontiff submitted resignedly to this new insult. A new commission was now summoned at the beginning of 1811. The questions to be determined by this body were how the dispensations required for conducting the affairs of the Church, all communication between the pope and the emperor being interrupted, could be obtained, and how in case of the pope's continued refusal of the solicited bulls, canonical investiture could be otherwise obtained. The result of the council's deliberation was, that a deputation should wait on his holiness, and in case of a refusal, a general council should be summoned. Meantime the members of the commission were abruptly summoned into the emperor's presence. In the number there was one who was equal to the occasion, and who remained undeterred by the emperor's presence. Napoleon, after opening the proceedings in a lengthy and vehement harangue, in which invective was freely employed, finally asked the Abbé Emery what he thought of the pope. This was the supreme moment for the vindication of truth and the rights of the Church, and well did the venerable octogenarian embrace it. "Sire," said the aged priest, his lips trembling with emotion, "I cannot have any other sentiment on this point but what is taught in the catechism by your orders in all the Churches. To the question, 'Who is the pope?' it is answered: 'He is the head of the Church, the vicar of Christ to whom all Christians owe obedience.' Now can a body be separated from its chief, from him to whom of divine right is due obedience?"

This was more than the emperor had anticipated. It was a sublime vindication in the simplest form of that fundamental truth which the emperor foolishly attempted to undermine. At least there was one man who was not afraid to speak the truth. Napoleon ordered the Abbé to continue. He did, and proceeded to show how a council such as was proposed would be null on account of not being in communion with the head of the Church. So far from drawing upon himself the emperor's anger, he only earned his majesty's admiration. "The Abbe," said Napoleon to one of his bishops, "has spoken as a man who understands his subject. It is thus I like to be addressed." Had all the bishops and clergy acted a like firm part, the emperor would not have been able to proceed to the extremes he did.

Napoleon was still bent on accomplishing his purpose, and now saw no better way than by convoking a national council, hoping by favors and threats to obtain what he demanded. Only those, however, who were favorable to the emperor were permitted to be present. Before the assembly had met, three of the number were appointed by the emperor to wait on the pope and solicit the concessions demanded. They succeeded only too well. Fearing lest greater evils might result to the Church in case of a further resistance, the holy father consented to the following conditions, viz., that the appointments made by the emperor to the various vacant sees be canonically ratified, that the bulls of confirmation be granted within a certain limited period, that his holiness makes these concessions in the hope that they might lead to a better understanding and the establishment of order and peace in the Church.

The concessions were endorsed by the council, but were not entirely satisfactory to the emperor. He demanded something more, nor did he cease till he obtained the pope's

acceptance of a concordate which infringed on the rights and liberties of the Church. The document, however, was hardly signed, when the holy father deeply regretted it; his mind became alarmingly disturbed nor did he obtain any tranquillity until he retracted his act. Napoleon was more incensed than ever at this, and once more subjected the venerable pontiff to the greatest indignities. He was made a close prisoner, not even the bishops or cardinals being permitted to communicate with him. But the time had at last arrived when the persecutor was to suffer for his tyranny. After the battle of Leipsic, Napoleon was forced to retire to Elba, while the sovereign pontiff returned in triumph to his dominions. Thus it ever has been: the Church has always triumphed over her enemies, and ever will.

CHAPTER XI.

TRIALS OF THE CHURCH IN GERMANY—THE LIBERTIES OF THE CHURCH GUARANTEED IN 1815—INJUSTICE OF THE GOVERNMENT SHOWN IN THE UNFAIR DISTRIBUTION OF PATRONAGE—VIOLATION OF THE GUARANTEES GIVEN TO THE CHURCH—THE ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE—HOSTILITIES COMMENCED AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR—COMMENCEMENT OF THE OPPRESSIVE MEASURES—SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS—LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE—A LARGE MEETING HELD AT MAYENCE PROTESTS AGAINST THE ACTION OF GOVERNMENT.

We now enter upon the last but by no means the least remarkable of the Church's conflict with the world. If not the severest, the contest engaged in at present is indisputably amongst the most notable, and for several reasons, will ever be regarded as one of the most brilliant in the annals of ecclesiastical history. Generations yet unborn will look back with pride and gratitude to the attitude assumed by the faithful in the present generation. To the Catholics of Germany, especially, will posterity be beholden for the testimony borne to divine truth in the present age. The fines, imprisonments, deprivations from office, and expulsion, in many instances, from their native land, endured by the faithful clergy of Prussia, rather than betray the interests intrusted to their keeping, will ever earn for those heroic confessors of the faith a large, unstinted meed of praise from the enlightened and liberal-minded of every time. Their sufferings, while being regarded as an incontrovertible evidence of their deep-seated religious convictions and of their chivalrous sentiments in opposing oppression, will secure, at the same time, for their enemies

the reprobation and unqualified condemnation of posterity. In their case will be realized the oft-repeated history of the past: their memory shall be held in grateful remembrance, while that of the tyrant shall be regarded with horror and aversion.

The circumstances, too, under which this violation of the liberties of the Church has been perpetrated, will imprint a still deeper stain on the memories of the actors. For not only have the natural and religious rights of the victims been violated, but the solemnly pledged and frequently ratified faith of the nation. A slight recapitulation of a small portion of the history of Prussia, is all that is needed to evidence this. At the congress of Vienna, in 1815, the liberties of the Catholic Church in Prussia, were solemnly stipulated. Catholics and Protestants were thenceforth to enjoy equal rights and privileges in the state, while the government, in return for the sequestrated ecclesiastical property, bound itself to provide for the maintenance of Catholic worship. To make arrangements for carrying into effect this stipulated agreement, a government official was despatched on the following year to Rome, to treat on the matter with the sovereign pontiff. Five years later, in 1821, an agreement, which became a portion of the fundamental law of the country was entered into between the holy see and the king of Prussia. The rights and liberties of the Catholics were hereby supposed to be carefully secured; but the future showed how deceptive were the promises of government. At the time the difference in the relative numbers of the Protestant and Catholic subjects was not so very considerable, for while the former numbered over six millions, the latter counted over four millions. Their numbers, then, if nothing else, should have entitled the Catholics to consideration at the hands of their rulers. But they did not. The ruling powers seem to have thought that they

were called upon to legislate only for one section of the country. As far as the Catholics were concerned, unfairness manifested itself in all the acts of government. This was shown as well in the important matter of education, as in the unfair distribution of government patronage and in an unwarrantable interference in the affairs of religion. Thus the entire educational system was conceived and carried out in the interests of a class. For while six universities were provided by the state for the higher education of the Protestant youth of the country, only a share in two of the six was reserved for the Catholics. What was more humiliating still was, that the Catholic professors, where Catholic studies were admitted, were appointed exclusively by government. The evils of such an incongruous system could not be readily mistaken. An avenue was thus opened for the introduction of error; the fountains of knowledge were liable to be poisoned, and irreparable evil done to the cause of divine truth. This was very clearly evinced in the case of two of the Catholic professors, the one of Breslau and the other of Bonn, who in defiance of the remonstrances and complaints of the proper ecclesiastical authorities continued, with the connivance of government, to propagate for a considerable time, their heretical doctrines. The fact, too, that the Levites of the sanctuary were necessitated to associate with the other university students many of whom were largely indoctrinated with infidel principles, was enough to demonstrate the dangers and perils surrounding the system.

In elementary education the injustice of government was equally manifest. Controlling this department were provincial boards, composed of a president and three associates, but only one of whom was permitted to be a Catholic. More humiliating still to the Catholic sentiment of the nation, was the requirement that all publications and treat-

ises on religion, not excepting the pastoral addresses of the bishops to their flocks, should be submitted to the censorship of a committee of Protestant officials. These were to determine what should be made public and what withheld from the faithful. To consummate in this department of letters the injustice of the state, Catholics were not always at liberty to defend themselves against the attacks of their enemies.

At court, in the army and navy, and the other departments of government, a like injustice prevailed: all the offices of emolument were reserved for the members of the Protestant faith or for those of none. The Catholics, if they had any rights, were supposed to hold them in abeyance to those of their Protestant brethren. This was very markedly shown in the provision made for the spiritual wants of the army. For while Protestant chaplains were appointed to the several brigades, the appointment of Catholic priests to act in a similar capacity was wholly ignored, the Catholic troops and Catholic officials of the district being required to attend the Protestant service. The tyranny of government extended itself farther even than that, viz., to the official relations of the episcopate with the centre of Catholic unity. Not only was the appointment of bishops to be made according to the will of the king, but all direct, official communication with the sovereign pontiff was strictly prohibited. Such had to pass through the hands of government officials, through whom also the pontiff's reply was to be received. This was to reduce the office of the episcopate to a mere function of the state, and to abridge in a most unwarrantable manner the liberties of the subject. It was a direct violation of the guarantees given at the congress of Vienna, and ratified solemnly in 1821. Nor was this the entire extent of the tyrannical assumptions of government. They showed themselves in

another and hardly less objectionable form, when in 1852 the Catholic clergy were strictly prohibited, under the pain of deposition from office, to exact any promise regarding the education in the Catholic faith of the offspring of those about to contract Protestant alliances, a like penalty being awarded to those who should refuse to officiate under such circumstances. The compliance of the clergy with this unjustifiable demand, was by no means as reedy and yielding as had been anticipated. It was vigorously opposed by the eminent Von Droste Vischering, archbishop of Cologne, who earned for himself by his noble resistance a prison in the fortress of Medin; but his firmness of purpose eventually won for the Church a partial freedom of action. Meantime, however, religion in Prussia continued to be subjected to numerous annoyances at the hands of the government. But in 1848 an important change took place: the old pretensions of the state were largely abandoned and an era which promised to be favorable to the liberties of the faithful, opened upon religion. In the constitution of that date, as also in that of 1850, the rights of the Church were freely acknowledged and permission accorded to the Catholic authorities to manage their own internal affairs without the interposition or interference of government. This favorable concession, which was highly beneficial to the interests of divine truth, was partially observed down to the commencement of the present unpleasant proceedings. To what then is the actual struggle in Prussia to be attributed? Is it to the disloyalty of the Catholics in general and the unwillingness of the clergy to co-operate with government in consolidating the power and maintaining the dignity of the empire? Nothing of the sort has been or could be with sincerity alleged. The devotion displayed by the Catholic troops in the contest with Austria and France would refute the assertion. The origin of the present as

well as of the previous pretensions of government, is to be attributed to an entirely different cause; it lies in the infidelity and pride of the ruling authorities. It is to be referred in its ultimate form to the teachings of the infidel philosophers, from Goethe to Strauss. There being according to these no personal God, the state is the only autonomy and the claims of the Catholic Church are in consequence only imaginary fictions. The struggle is accordingly not of Church against Church, not of Protestantism against Catholicity, but of infidelity against Christianity. It is a contest whether God or nature shall be adored. The old pagan principle that Cæsar, who is the pontifex maximus, is the fountain of all authority and to be obeyed in every particular, is the principle here set forth. In its final analysis, then, the origin of the present persecution is to be traced to the denial of the spiritual and the deification of the natural order. The immediate cause, however, is to be sought for and found in the marvelous expansion of the nation's territorial limits. The country became intoxicated with its successes and, in the pride of its heart, forgot the duty it owed to its God. Had Sadowa been a failure and the Franco-Prussian war been a series of reverses, the May laws would never have been framed nor would the episcopate of Germany have earned for itself the honorable appellation of Confessors of the Faith. But of success was begotten pride, and of pride a system of oppression.

Hardly had the last echoes of the clangor of war died on the plains around Metz, than the North German press began to question the rights of the Church. The source whence the writers derived their inspiration, it would not be difficult to name. The open endorsement of the statements by the chancellor of the empire, left no doubt to whom they were to be attributed. The prime minister's en-

tire future policy was still stronger evidence of this. To Prince von Bismark, the world will ever accredit the dishonor of originating a war upon the rights and liberties of the Catholic Church in Prussia at the present time. The object aimed at was of a twofold nature. The ultimate end of the movement was the formation of a national Church and by it the destruction of the Catholic faith. But there was an immediate object to be served, which was the removal of the danger threatened to the state by the prevalence of democratic socialistic ideas. By inflaming the minds of the infidels against the religion of Christ, the chancellor had hoped to avert the catastrophe which he considered at hand. This was, indeed, to purchase security at an enormous expense. It was to repeat in the 19th century what Nero had done in the first. It succeeded, however, for the moment. The ostensible ground assigned by the government for commencing hostilities, was the definition of the doctrine of papal infallibility and the hostile declarations of the Catholic party in the parliament. This was put forward by Bismark in the sitting of the chambers on the 18th of June, 1870, but was boldly repudiated by a member of the same party, Herr von Kirchman. In a subsequently published pamphlet, Herr Kirchman says: "The present action of the state against the Catholic Church would be unjustifiable if better grounds could not be adduced in its favor. These are to be found, to express the matter in a single sentence, in the great power to which the Catholic Church in Prussia had attained by the aid of the constitution and the favor of the government, a power which, if its growth had been longer tolerated, would have become not only dangerous to the existence of the state, but a hindrance to the right fulfillment of the ends of its existence." And in another part he also says: "It is difficult to understand how so experienced a statesman as

Prince Bismark can ascribe to this decree of the council such great importance, for the states of Europe and particularly for Prussia and Germany." And as regards the assertion that the opposition of the Catholic party in the parliament invoked the legislation, the same unquestionable authority wrote these words: "Not less singular does it sound to hear the party of the Centrum in the Reichstag and Prussian Landtag, denominated as the occasion of the new regulation between Church and state. The members of this party notoriously represent the views and wishes of the majority of their constituents, and just as faithfully as the members of the parties who side with the government. The reproach, that they receive their instructions from Rome, is not borne out by the facts, and if there were any understanding with Rome of the kind which their adversaries affirm, this could only be the result of a similar understanding on the part of their constituents." The hostile action of the government, then, was not induced by the legislation of the Vatican council in the matter of papal infallibility nor by the attitude of the Centrum in the deliberate Assembly of the nation. These were merely the pretense, and indeed a poor one at that.

The oppressive measures were begun by the abolition of the Catholic department of the ministry of Public Worship. This happened in July 1871. It was followed by an equally arbitrary act on the part of the government, the passage of an act entitled "the abuse of the pulpit" whereby the office of preaching was subjected to the supervision of the civic authorities. Meantime an incident happened in another direction which plainly evinced the intentions and hostility of the authorities toward the Catholic body. Following the close of the Vatican council the instructor of religion in the Catholic Gymnasium of Braunsberg seceded from the Catholic Church, but yet attempted to

hold his position. In this he was supported by the Minister von Muhler. There could be now no longer any doubt as to the real object of the war. To sustain a Protestant professor as instructor of Catholic youth was to seek the perversion of Catholics. It was to trifle with the liberty of the subject, to trample under foot the sacred rights of conscience, and to ignore in the plainest form the publicly pledged faith of the nation as given in the constitutions of 1848 and 1850. After this no one was surprised to find the Catholic priests removed from the office of inspectors of schools. The step was foreshadowed in the sustainment as instructor of Catholic youth of the apostatè professor refered to. It was at this juncture that the heretical sectaries came to the aid of the government. In September, of that year, 1871, the old Catholics met at Munich and passed a series of resolutions condemnatory of the society of the Jesuits. Similar resolutions were passed later on by members of the same party and parliament was urged to take the matter in hand. But before doing so, it manifested very clearly how it was likely to deal with the affair. Some three months had now elapsed since the passage of the act placing the office of preacher under the supervision of the civic authorities. In the interim the measure had produced its fruit. A parish priest, Herr Lechner, was accused of having violated its provisions by having stated in a discourse that "it was not by the grace of God but by the inspiration of Satan that kings in those days violated the laws of God." The prosecutor was a man of bad repute having been dismissed from the post of secretary to the commune for some dereliction of duty. The case was so weak that the tribunal before which it wat first brought refused to take cognizance of it and it was only when special orders were received from the higher powers that the local authorities entertained the matter.

On the trial it was established on oath by eight and twenty respectable witnesses, including the mayor of the locality, that the language alleged was not used on the occasion. It was further proved on oath that money had been offered to persons to testify against the priest, and yet in the face of these facts the clergyman was convicted and condemned to imprisonment in a fortress for the period of a year.* About a month later another case occurred which evinced a like hostility on the part of the government to the Catholic body. The bishop of Ermeland found it necessary to excommunicate the parish priest of Insterburg, who was also chaplain of the garrison and other governmental establishments in the neighborhood. The bishop's action was confirmed by the chaplain-general of the forces, who also deprived the priest of his spiritual charge in the case of the troops; and yet this suspended and excommunicated priest was upheld by government and a notice published that the action of the ecclesiastical authorities was in contravention of the state authority and should be disowned. The bishop was called upon to retract, by an official declaration, his action in the case, and to express his readiness to obey in future all the orders of the government. It is unnecessary to say that he refused to comply: as a Christian bishop, it was out of his power to do as commanded.

The threatening action of the government had no better effect on the prince-bishop of Breslau, who in like manner found it necessary to excommunicate five of his subjects for the part they were taking in promoting the schism.† This independent action on the part of the bishops in discharging, undeterred, the duties of their office aroused to an extraordinary degree the anger of the Liberals and

* See London Tablet, for 1872, pages 96 and 640.

† These were Reinkens, Weber, Buckman, Hassler and Hirchevälder.

caused them to urge upon the government the necessity of restraining the action of the clergy. Five and twenty petitions were, accordingly, got up and presented to the Reichstag, calling for the suppression of the Jesuits. These were supposed to represent the sentiment of the nation, but the contrary was soon made manifest, when, instead of five and twenty, 1392 addresses were sent in in favor of the Fathers. And considering the relative disproportion between the Catholic and Protestant element of the empire, it was clear on which side the feeling of the country lay. The Reichstag, however, was not open to conviction; it mattered not that fifty times as many addresses were presented in favor of the religious. That body was still on the side of the minister and it accordingly passed a resolution calling upon the emperor's government to legislate for the control of the religious societies. This was all that Prince Bismark wanted; he took the expression of the Reichstag as the expression of the nation, though over 1300 petitions against five and twenty told him on which side the masses of the people were. But that mattered nothing; he had a plea for acting and that was all be desired. In May of 1872, the important measure of restricting the liberties of the religious communities was brought before parliament. The measure was especially directed against the society of the Jesuits, but it was intended at the same time to include all other communities. Its main provisions called for the closing of all the houses of the society in the kingdom, the expulsion of the foreign members, and the interning within certain districts those who belonged to the country. The project became law on the 4th of July, 1872, and on the following day was put into execution. Thus hundreds of innocent men, whose only crime was that of leading holy lives and ministering efficaciously to the spiritual wants of their brethren, were sum-

marily deprived of their most cherished rights and driven out as outcasts from their respective abodes. The blow, though given to the Jesuits, was in reality aimed at the Church of which they were such zealous defenders. Whatever hopes might have lingered in the minds of some regarding the moderate intentions of the authorities, were now entirely dispelled. After the passing of the above-stated measure it was plain to all that the government had taken upon itself to rule the Church within the kingdom and for what purpose was a secret to none. It was then a question whether infidelity or Christianity should succeed. To the mind of the Minister the result could not for a moment be doubtful. A few unarmed bishops could not surely hope to be successful against a power which had conquered two of the greatest nations of the world. A withdrawal of the government allowance and an incarceration, if needed, of some of the most vigorous opponents of the measures, would be all that would be required, thought Bismark, to accomplish this object. But in this he made a grievous mistake. He made no allowance for conscience, nor did he contemplate how far the aid of the Almighty was likely to be enlisted on the side of his opponents. The spectacle of a united episcopate with hundreds of priests and millions of the faithful standing firmly together and resolved to conquer or die,was what he had never contemplated. History, indeed,might have taught him what would be the result: the history of every tyrant, whether Christian or pagan, whoever assailed religion, might have informed him of this. But he had either read history imperfectly or he deemed himself more powerful than all who had hitherto attacked the Catholic faith. The Napoleonic aphorism, " that victory is ever on the side of the largest park of cannon," seemed to have grossly deceived him. In merely human encounters that might, indeed, be true ; but where God is on the side

of the opponent it is, and ever will be, untrue. The Catholics of the country were now fairly aroused to a sense of their position and of the responsibility devolving on them of maintaining at every cost the principles of divine truth. They clearly saw they were at the beginning of a struggle which was likely to prove as bitter and determined as any that had been recorded in the annals of the past. Prisons, fines and exile appeared to them in the distance; but did not disturb their tranquillity. They knew in whom and by whom they were to conquer, and by a rare unanimity all were resolved to stand or perish together. The bishops, as became them, were the first to protest against the tyranny of the state. In August, the archbishop of Cologne, addressed the two following letters, the former to his clergy and the latter to the provincial of the Jesuits, expressing his regret for the course adopted by the government, and conveying his sympathy to the victims of the newly-framed law.

Letter of the Archbishop of Cologne to his clergy:

"I herewith send to the clergy of the arch-diocese a letter which I have thought it my duty to address to the Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus, at Maria-Laach. I do so, because I know that you, my beloved brethren in the Lord, who have been, for a number of years, eye-witnesses of the zeal for souls and the fruitful labors of the Jesuit Fathers, are with me and all faithful Catholics grieved at the heavy and irreparable loss which their banishment inflicts upon the archdiocese, and that you sympathize with the views which I have expressed with regard to that society, and that you expect a clear expression of the same from your chief pastor, and with all the more right because you perceive in the measures taken against them not only wrong done to them, but also to the religious liberty guaranteed by the constitution to the Church, as also the injury of the rights of all

the faithful which are grounded on it. Convinced of the groundlessness of the accusations, reproaches, and calumnies brought against the Society, whereby a great and powerful party have declared war not only against the Jesuits, but against the Catholic Church; nay, *even against Christianity itself;* and especially persecute with hatred and contempt the perfection of the Christian life which manifests itself in the practice of the evangelical counsels in religious orders approved by her. Convinced of this, I feel sure that my clergy, penetrated by the same conviction, will, remembering the great benefits which both clergy and laity owe to them, unanimously embrace with brotherly love the members of the Society, who, for the sake of Christ, are now persecuted and are being banished without their being convicted of any charge, and do all in their power to serve them as they have served us. I also trust that you, my most dear fellow-laborers, will most carefully and faithfully cherish those plentiful fruits which the zealous labors of the Jesuit Fathers have produced in souls, and that you will guard them from all injury. It is, however, with sorrow that I have heard that the great love and attachment which the faithful feel for the Fathers of this Society have already led some of them to manifest their repugnance and anger against the government in such a way that their conduct is not in accordance with their duty as Christians, to their rulers. I beg, then, the clergy, whenever it may appear necessary, to remind the faithful of their duty towards those who are over us, and earnestly to warn them against every unlawful and punishable resistance, referring them to the exhortation of the Apostle, 1 Peter, ii., 13–15. † PAUL, Archbishop of Cologne: Cologne, 26th of August, 1872."

Letter to the Very Reverend, the Provincial of the Society of Jesus, Father Oswald, at Maria-Laach:—"From the communications which have reached me from your

reverence and other sources, as well as from the public prints, I have learnt with great sorrow that the law against the Society of Jesus is being carried out with a severity far beyond what is justified by the letter of the same law. Having just returned from a long visitation journey, I hasten to express to your reverence, the painful and sincere sympathy I feel for you all in this heavy affliction, which according to God's inscrutable, though no doubt wise and loving counsels, has fallen upon the the Society in our German fatherland. I cannot but express my conviction of the falseness and groundlessness of the reproaches and accusations brought against the Society, as also of the great injustice which has been inflicted on its members. At the same time I take the opportunity of thanking the Society for the great and numerous benefits which the labors of the Fathers have conferred upon us during the last twenty years—since my predecessor called them to labor in the diocese. I cannot, without pain and anxiety, think of the loss and injury which the departure of so many able and zealous members of the regular clergy will inflict upon my people—a loss which, from the want of clergy to take their place, is irreparable; especially as the Fathers have always devoted themselves, and that without hope of reward, not only to the ordinary, but even to the extraordinary work of the diocese; and have contributed not only to the salvation of the people, but also to that of the clergy. My efforts to avoid such an evil have hitherto proved ineffectual. I do not, however, give up the hope that the united efforts of the episcopate and of all true Catholics will at last succeed in getting the work of your Society recognized and valued, and that at no very distant time; while it is a comfort to recognize the fact, that the present circumstances render you a remarkable likeness to our divine exemplar, inasmuch as in all times and in all places you are chosen by

the unbelieving world as the special object of its persecution. Meanwhile, I will never cease, as far as the limits of the law and my own feeble powers point, to work towards this end. I conclude with the expression of my heartfelt esteem and love. I commend both your reverence and all your brethren to the merciful providence of the all-good God, and myself and the archdiocese to your pious prayers, giving you, at the same time, my pastoral benediction. † Paul, Archbishop of Cologne."

The mild and respectful character of these documents the reader will readily recognize, and yet it was seriously contemplated by government to enter an action against their author for the seditionary language supposed to be employed therein. In striking and unmeaning contrast with the violence and injustice of the state in depriving the Jesuit Fathers of their legal and constitutional rights, and driving them forth as fugitives from the kingdom, was the permission granted at this stage to the Protestant missionaries of Great Britain to enter the country, a favor for which the Prime Minister was formally thanked by two representative Englishmen, Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Arthur Kinnaird, M. P.

By a provision of the recently-made law, placing the religious societies under the control of the government, the state was specially empowered to punish whatever on the part of those bodies might be regarded as dangerous to its well-being. This was to strike at the very vital principle of religion; it was to place the spiritual under the temporal authority—to make the Church the creature and slave of the state. The power thus conferred was not long in making itself felt and in a manner, too, most offensive and injurious to Catholics. On the ground of being forbidden by the law, a Catholic mission about to be given by the Redemptorist Fathers at Treves, was prohibited by

the government. The country was taken entirely by surprise at the arbitrary measure; it was virtually an inhibition to preach the Catholic faith in the land. Protests from the bishops and clergy followed, but with no better effect than a citation of the remonstrants before the legal tribunal and an assurance that they were seeking to undermine the authority of government. But this did not deter the Catholic party, and on the 9th of September the prince-bishop of Breslau made an address to the general meeting of the Catholic Society of Germany from which the following is an extract: "We have now enjoyed twenty years of peace between Church and state, certainly not without advantage to the latter; for, during that time the various parts of the monarchy have been brought together into a closer unity and the foundations were laid of that German unity that now exists. But alas, things are changed. After the late bloody war, whose victories justified us in entertaining hopes of better days, the peace of the Church has been sacrificed. And is there any reason for it? Have not we, Catholics, with a firm determination and scrupulous conscientiousness fulfilled all our duties to the state? Have not our Catholic soldiers shed their blood and sacrificed their lives like any others, for their fatherland? Have we not emulated our fellow-countrymen in all the sacrifices, whether personal or pecuniary, which such a terrible and protracted combat demanded? Have we not sent our priests, our religious, men and women, to the battle-field to comfort the dying and help the wounded? And yet we are being cried down as vagabonds, as enemies of our fatherland, as opposers of German unity and—that the most perverse charge might not fail to be brought against us—as partizans of the Commune and fosterers of the International! Since the law which excludes ecclesiastics from the Ministry of Worship and abolishes the Catholic representa-

tives there, whereby the last chance has been taken away from Catholics of making our voice heard in the higher departments of the government, there has followed only blow upon blow till this law against the Jesuits, which is being carried out in such a way that German subjects who happen to belong to the Society are simply banished from the country—an order of men so remarkable for their devotedness to their country, so pure and spotless in morals and in all their conduct, that not the Church alone, but the state, too, found in them the truest defenders. This, perhaps, is their chief crime in the eyes of their implacable haters.

"All this, however, does not satisfy the Liberals who give the word of command. They will not be content with threatening us with new laws and ordinances, which simply mean that the government is going to make itself master of the rudder of our boat, and that we, bishops, priests, and pope, are to work the vessel as pressed men under their command.

"But we have also enemies in our own bosom—I mean the idle and cowardly Catholics. How shall we remedy this evil? The answer is short and simple: we must shame both into better conduct by the example of a determined zeal. The rest we can leave to the logic of events which are irresistibly pressing on the answer to many a question; for the time is near when there will only be left *the true children of the Church and her enemies.* But this striving after unity we must invigorate by our own personal sacrifices and devotedness. Yes, my friends, our highest and holiest interests are at stake. Shall we then be selfish with the means and strength which God has given us? I know, indeed, that we, Catholics, are mostly poor—poor in influence as in money. The official positions which secure both are closed for the most part against us, because we are Catholics, and the state has long since rob-

bed the Church of her own just possessions. Nevertheless though we need so much, yet we will make it a joint duty out of our little to help the need of our holy Father, who has lost all his, and who, deserted by all the high and mighty and a prisoner in his own house, has only left him the love of his true children.

"Another thing I must do: I must just touch on a subject which in spite of all the oppression of our present condition, and the grief we feel at the injustice that is being done us, we must not for one moment forget: I mean the duty of a Christian to do no injustice to any one, and never to allow ourselves to be induced to withdraw our obedience to our rulers, or to fail in respect for our king and emperor. Still it is also our duty—a holy duty, to work by all lawful and permitted means for our holy faith and the holy Church. But our resistance must be none other than patient. This is the command of God; this is the teaching of the Church—this is Catholic. I know all this is hard to do, when day by day our poor hearts are wounded by the goads which are used against us and we are being hunted like wild beasts. We are suffering what the editor of a well-known journal has so beautifully called, 'the unbloody martyrdom.' But even this will be lightened for us if we look at the bloody trial which lasted the first three ages of Christianity, and remember that we are only enduring the unbloody one which every other age has seen.

"And to take an example from the present, let us only look at the Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Jesus—at those misunderstood, calumniated, persecuted, proscribed men whom Germany would rob even of the consolation of their ministry as priests. I have not heard one of these utter one little word: nay more not even a complaint, as they with silent tears quitted their beloved labors in the midst of us."

On the same day that the above was spoken, a large, influential meeting comprising a couple of thousand persons was held at Mainz, for the purpose of protesting against the violent action of the government, when it was determined on the part of the Catholics never to yield in the matter of their spiritual rights. The meeting took occasion to declare that the course then adopted by the state was not only against the rights and privileges of Catholics, but against those of all mankind who hold by the principles of justice and freedom. Government took no notice of the proceedings; the authorities continued in their evil course regardless of the expostulations of their victims. But what must have considerably embittered the minds of the oppressors was the cordial expression of sympathy every-where extended to the expatriated religious. Thus at Cologne, Strasbourg, and other places, addresses of condolence were presented by the faithful to the Fathers, and assurances tendered of the deep-seated sorrow felt by the community at their expulsion.

CHAPTER XII.

PROTEST OF THE JESUITS OF COLOGNE—RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CONGRESS OF GERMANY—THE BISHOPS OF THE COUNTRY MEET AT FULDA AND ISSUE A PROTEST—THE GOVERNMENT CLOSES SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES—THE RELIGIOUS EXPELLED FROM THEIR HOMES—THE CATHOLICS OF THE NATION AWAKENED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONTEST—SYMPATHY FROM ABROAD—THE CATHOLIC JOURNALS PUNISHED BY GOVERNMENT FOR AN EXPRESSION OF THEIR PRINCIPLES—THE FALK LAWS.

In the last chapter, the reader has been informed how the bishop of Ermeland was censured by government for having, in the discharge of his sacred duty, excommunicated the parish priest of Insterburg. At the time, it was thought that the authorities would institute an action against the prelate, but they ultimately determined to deal with the matter in another form. They suppressed the bishop's temporalities. The inconsistency of this lay in the fact that the Evangelical Consistory, or Kirchenrath, of Berlin had frequently done with impunity without any special authority from the state what in the case of this Catholic bishop was regarded as a crime. Meantime, the Jesuits of Cologne put upon record the following document against the violence of the government:

"The royal government of Cologne, in execution of the enactments of July 4th of the present year, prohibited us on and after the 7th of August last, not only from the exercise of all the functions of our Order, but also of all priestly functions; and subsequently by an ordinance dated the 17th of August, the same authority required us to quit our house within four weeks from that date. It is true that in conse-

quence of a remonstrance on our part the superior president granted us a brief and insufficient respite extending to the 1st of October, but on the 11th of September he also decided that in case of non-compliance with the above ordinance the members of our Order would be removed by the police and the community closed without further indulgence, on the 1st of October. On September the 16th the Regence required that all those who wished to remain in the territory of the German empire should give notice within three days of the locality where they intended to reside. To different supplications asking for a prolongation of our leave of residence in Cologne, the chief of police replied verbally that an indefinite prolongation was granted us; but on the 2d of October a written order from the Minister of Worship was served upon us, informing us that there was no ground for altering the decision of the royal government of Cologne, dated September 11th.

"This long catalogue of violent proceedings was not provoked by any offense on our part; and we have submitted to it with resignation, in obedience to the spirit of Christianity, and the principles of the Society of Jesus. We have kept silence and submitted with patience, and we have dissolved our community. But now we think that we ought to protest against the invasion of our rights. We owe it to our honor, we owe it to the Catholic body, and especially to Catholic Cologne, which has afforded us so many proofs of its sympathy, and which is now witness of this strange spectacle, the sight of priests faithful to the Catholic Church treated as criminals, at the same time that apostate priests are at liberty, with unmeasured insult, to incite persons to abandon the Catholic Church.

"As citizens of the state we protest against these proceedings. Never have we given the government any reason to complain of us; we have conscientiously fulfilled all our

civil duties, we may even say that we have gone beyond them, especially during the late war. Our reward is to have measures employed against us that are in flagrant contradiction with liberty, which is founded on the rights of all. An exceptional law has been enacted against us; rights which the constitution guarantees to all the citizens have been wrested from us; we have been placed under police surveillance of the severest sort, as if we were malefactors. We have been driven from our property, and all this without any legal charge being made against us, without any sentence being passed, the courts of law being closed against us.

"As Catholic priests, we protest against these proceedings. The bishops of the Catholic Church, and they alone, possess the right to grant and to withdraw the powers of administering the sacraments and preaching the word of God. Articles xiii and xvi of the Constitution guarantee to the Catholic Church those rights and others which essentially belong to it. In virtue of those rights we were called by the ecclesiastical authorities of Cologne, and it was by those authorities that all our sacerdotal powers were conferred upon us. The government encroaches on ground which does not belong to it, when it interdicts us from those rights. When government includes under "functions of order," all the ecclesiastical functions, it pushes the law farther than the law itself professes to reach. When the government deprives us of all our sacerdotal functions, it forbids us the practice of our vocation; although by the canon law priests are debarred from gaining their livelihood, as laymen do, by working at other occupations.

"Lastly, we protest against these proceedings as members of the Company of Jesus. It is time that an attempt be made to justify these proceedings under the pretext that

the Company of Jesus constitutes a danger to the state. In the year 1848, the Jesuits did not constitute a danger to the state. On the contrary they were then a welcome support to the government that was then imperilled. Since that time they have preached in a great number of cities and other places, and never has any state been able to complain that they have preached a dangerous doctrine: never have they been so much as accused of doing so. Nevertheless the Jesuits are now become, all at once, dangerous to the state and the most rigorous measures taken against them without legal process, without indictment, without evidence, without witnesses. We protest against the harshness with which the royal government of Cologne has thought proper to enforce the act against us; for while even the act itself allows a delay of six months, which in other cases has been granted, in our case a term of from four to six weeks has been fixed, which is utterly insufficient in which to arrange our affairs and to find an asylum elsewhere. Besides that while in other cases it was allowed to say mass, that benefit is denied to us—a harshness which has not been provoked by any act on our part. We, therefore, protest against these proceedings of which we are the victims, and we remonstrate against the consequences they must have as to our personal affairs and our prosperity; and we reserve to ourselves the defense of our rights by all legal and proper means. And as, in the last place, we are debarred from any resort to legal redress we make our appeal to the highest tribunal—to the judgment of God before whom all must appear, both great and small; and we place our cause in the hands of Him who shall render to every man according to his works.—Signed: P. B. Rive, S. J.; A. Voiss, S. J.; H. Sack, S. J.; P. Riswick, S. J.; A. Smitz De Free, S. J.: Cologne, October 2nd, 1872."

Five days later the congress of the Catholics of Germany took place at Cologne and adopted the following spirited resolutions:

I.

"The Catholic Association of Germany repels the calumnious imputation which has been made against the Catholic population, of being indifferent to the interests of fatherland and hostile to the empire. Catholics are obliged by their conscience and their religion to pay respect to authority and they, therefore, condemn all revolutionary and anti-patriotic schemes. Nevertheless as citizens possessing the same rights as the other subjects of the state, they will never sacrifice either their individual liberty or the independence of their Church to the arbitrary schemes of certain statesmen and to temporary majorities in the legislature. It is their duty to employ all lawful means of resistance to laws and police ordinances made and enacted to the prejudice of their civil and religious liberties and in contravention of all right whether human or divine."

II.

"In virtue of her divine institution, the Catholic Church's mission and duty are to proclaim the truth always and every-where. She has existed in Germany for more than 1000 years with her unchanging doctrines, her laws and institutions; and she exists thus as a perfect society, that is to say, she possesses autonomy and independence. Her right to these has been recognized by solemn treaties, and has been confirmed to her by the promises of the sovereign. Consequently it is not competent to the civil government to determine at its own pleasure, and by its own laws and administrative measures, the degree of liberty which the Church in Germany is to enjoy."

III.

"The state has no right to arrogate to itself the exclusive management of education. Parents and guardians have an unquestionable right to decide as to the education and instruction of their children. Not less unquestionable is the right and duty of the Church to have schools of her own, entirely free and independent—not merely elementary schools, but also superior schools, to give Christian instruction to the children, who are hers by baptism. Catholics have to maintain the rights guaranteed to them by the constitutional laws of Germany, against attempts lately made to rob the Church of all control over schools and to exclude the religious orders from teaching."

IV.

"The state has no right to suppress a religious order approved by the Church, and much less to prohibit the Church from availing herself of the services of all religious orders in general. The law, so-called, "Of the Jesuits" is a violation of the Church's dignity and liberty, and is in prejudice of the conscience of all Catholics, and an encroachment on the civil right of irreproachable citizens."

V.

"The state ought not to place impediments in the way of the bishops exercising the jurisdiction which they hold from God. In the measures taken by the government against the bishop-chaplain of the army, and against the bishop of Ermeland, we see the result of the pagan principle of the state's omnipotence—a principle to which Catholics can never give their adhesion. The Catholics of Germany will support with fidelity and devotedness their bishops in the conflict that has been raised against them."

VI.

"The situation in which the holy father has been placed is a lasting cause of profound grief to the Catholics of Germany. They will never cease from protesting against the sacrileges committed against the head of the Church under the eyes of the governments of Europe. Those governments owe to themselves and to their Catholic subjects the duty of protecting the pope."

While the events recorded above were occurring, the bishops of the country alive to the important interests at stake, and mindful of what was expected from them as guardians of the faith, were carefully deliberating as to how they might best oppose the violence and tyranny of government. Towards the close of September, they met at Fulda, and issued a document which, as an expression of a fearless independence of purpose, and of clear, incontrovertible reasoning, will ever occupy a prominent place in the history of Catholic Germany.* In that address the bishops remind their rulers of the grounds on which the rights of the Catholic Church in Germany were based. They bring to the recollection of the government how, at the peace of Westphalia, the existence and freedom of the Roman Catholic faith, like those of all other confessions acknowledged by the state, were solemnly guaranteed. To the Prussian charter of 1850, they also emphatically appealed in defense of their position, while as regarded the reasons alleged in justification of the course adopted by government, the bishops lucidly refuted all in detail. But so far from obtaining an amelioration of their condition, the pastoral served only to inflame the minds of the Liberals the more. Unable to answer the arguments, the infidels and free-thinkers of the country gave expression to their feelings in the most violent and bitter invective against the authors of the

* See document in appendix.

document and the Church of which they were the representatives. Thus supported by the liberal and free-thinking element of the nation, government was enabled to proceed with impunity in its reckless, iniquitous course of oppression, regardless of the rights, feelings, and interests of the subjects. In consequence, numbers of religious communities were commanded to close their respective establishments at certain definite dates. After the first of December, the Jesuit college and novitiate at Munster were no longer to exist, while by an extension of clemency the Sisters of the poor-schools at Frankstadt might remain till the commencement of the year '73.

While government was thus carrying out its high-handed injustice, by suppressing religious communities and closing Catholic schools, it was at the same time exhibiting its meanness and the hatred it had for everything Catholic, by prohibiting in Catholic schools all contributions in behalf of the sovereign pontiff. The same littleness and bitterness of mind showed itself in the inquiry instituted by the authorities of Berlin, as to the employees of government who shared in the ovation given to the Jesuit Fathers on their departure from Munster. But this manifest hatred of everything Catholic served only to awaken a livelier sense of religion in the breasts of the Catholics themselves. Hence, following the example set by the society called the "General Union," several minor associations were formed numbering several thousands, the professed object of which was by a firm, determined, passive resistance to oppose by all legitimate means the encroachments of the state.

The worst and most reprehensible feature in the action of government against the Catholic community, was its determination not only to deprive the Catholics of their hereditary rights in the matter of Catholic education, but to force them to avail themselves of Protestant institutes.

Thus, at Gardelegen, after the Catholic schools were closed by order of the authorities, the parents received orders to send their children to the Protestant institutes of the place, and to have their names duly inscribed by the Protestant inspector of the locality. A refusal to comply with so unjust a demand was followed by a fine and the threat of an additional penalty in case of continuous refusal. But to the honor of the Catholics, the fines and threats were unavailing. In their zeal for divine truth, the faithful were resolved not to yield in so important and vital a question, and in order to liberate themselves from the annoyances of government, they resolved to appeal to the law. To the credit of the officers of the crown it has to be recorded, that the Catholic side of the case was maintained and the parents were accordingly freed from the necessity of sending their children to Protestant schools.

Equally indicative of the feelings of government was the manner in which the law regarding the expulsion of the religious was carried into effect. Neither length of service, weight of years, sickness, or infirmity, was any protection against the strictest application of the cruel code. This was particularly exemplified in the case of the infirm religious of Paderborn, who were ruthlessly expelled from their homes on the 1st of September. Not less ignoble was the action of government in the expulsion of the female religious of Eichsfeld. These holy and devoted women had even special claims on the gratitude of the state; for they had served with admirable zeal and devotion in the Franco-Prussian war, and had been even decorated by the authorities for the services rendered to the country. Yet, unmindful of all they had done, they were involved equally with all others in the common penalty assigned to their sister communities. Indeed, so incongruous was the action of the rulers in their regard that their being decorated almost at the moment of their expulsion

may be justly regarded as an act of bitter and cynical irony on the part of the authorities.

But reason had no share in the course then pursued by the state. Passion, prejudice, and hatred of everything Catholic overruled all its acts, and warped its every judgment. It saw an enemy where none existed, and detected danger where loyalty was inculcated. Otherwise, why condemn and prohibit the existence of that admirable society entitled the "Sainte Enfance," whose object was the maintenance and conversion of youth in pagan lands? Why, too, unless passion and prejudice had wholly clouded the understanding, unless a deep-rooted hatred of everything Catholic had dictated the course, have prohibited Catholic students from joining according to their bishops' invitation in devotion to the Sacred Heart of the Redeemer? Posterity will surely look, but look in vain, for a reason for so illiberal and anti-Christian a course. Nor will it help the defenders of the measure to allege that the prohibition of government extended only to the schools. For towards the close of the year 1872, of which we are now speaking, all the Catholic churches in the diocese of Posen were ordered to be closed, on the ground of having been placed under the protection of the Sacred Heart! What possible danger could accrue to government from so admirable a devotion must ever remain a mystery to all but the rulers of the German empire at that date, and those of their successors who have shared their opinions.

The course thus pursued by government, in manifesting openly its detestation of the most laudible Catholic customs and practices, was productive of one great good. It awakened the Catholics to a true sense of their position, and taught them that in unity, alone, lay their security. The great bulk of them recognized this, and acted upon it. Their feelings found expression especially, in a vast meeting held

at Cologne, on the 20th of November, when the president Herr Baudri, protested in the name of all his fellow-Catholics of Germany against the course then followed by the authorities. He did not seek to conceal or modify his ideas; but boldly charged the state with seeking to destroy the Church. "The modern state," said he, "will not accept the blessings of the Church and the Church *is to be annihilated*, especially as regards the influence in the schools. . . . The expulsion of the Jesuits was another act of violence and an attack on the rights of the Catholic Church." This was followed by another great meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which five thousand persons were present. The interest felt in these proceedings was soon communicated to other lands. In the attack made upon the Catholic Church of Germany, the Catholics of christendom recognized a war made upon their common faith, and resented it accordingly. All eyes were directed towards the momentous conflict then, indeed, only in its beginning, yet sufficiently developed to indicate the true nature thereof. Sympathetic and encouraging words reached the bishops from divers quarters and tended to strengthen and uphold them in the noble defense they were then making in behalf of divine truth. From England the following address was forwarded by the prelates of that country:—

"To the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishops of Germany——

"After reading with much emotion the letter which you, venerable Brethren, the Bishops of Germany, gathered together at the tomb of St. Boniface our martyr, with apostolic liberty and authority, have made public, we cannot be silent. You, as true shepherds and not hirelings, seeing dangers invading the flock, fearless of perils and threats, have cried aloud boldly in warning. The cause you are defending is yours, indeed, but also ours and of the whole

Church of God. In truth, all liberties whatsoever not of the Church alone, of conscience and religion, of faith, of the pastoral office, and of the holy see, but also of the civil society of mankind, and of the domestic life, of parents and of children, attacked as they are by one and the same violence, by one and the same voice and constancy of yours are asserted and vindicated. They who are openly or secretly persecuting the Catholic Church are thereby endeavoring to bring into bondage the Mother of all liberty. But they are laboring in vain: for 'where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' 'Jerusalem which is from above, is free.' Moreover the liberty of the Church is the fountain of liberty to nations and peoples. When the spiritual liberty of men is oppressed, all public and private rights are at once disturbed and perish. They who violate the liberty which God has given to men, destroy not liberty but themselves. Wherefore, beloved and venerable Brethren, we, who afar off behold you in the dangers of the forefront of the battle of the Lord, count it a glory to make your victorious combat our own. For we are brethren by a twofold bond: we are partakers with you in the Catholic episcopate; we are also, by a supernatural consanguinity, members of the same glorious apostolate of Germany, members of the same family. We acknowledge you to be true sons and heirs of St. Boniface, witnesses and defenders of the oath which he consecrated with his blood. For what he promised to blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and to his successor, Gregory II., you are seen gloriously to fulfil to Pius our pontiff; namely that 'showing forth your perfect faith, and the purity of the holy Catholic faith, you stand firm by God's help in the unity of the same faith, and in no way yield in anything contrary to the unity of the universal Church, whosoever may endeavor to persuade.'

"Therefore, if in this lamentable conflict by which you are surrounded, any solace or strength can be found in the love and veneration of the faithful and pastors of England towards you, be sure, dear Brethren, that day by day our hearts and prayers will be poured out in your behalf before God, the Lord of hosts, the head and defender of the Apostles.—

"† Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster;
† Thomas Joseph, O. S. B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia;
† William Bernard, O. S. B., Bishop of Birmingham;
† James, Bishop of Shrewsbury;
† Richard, Bishop of Nottingham;
† William, Bishop of Plymouth;
† William, Bishop of Clifton;
† Francis, Bishop of Northampton;
† Robert, Bishop of Beverly;
† James, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle;
† James, Bishop of Southwark;
† Herbert, Bishop of Salford;

"Westminster, Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

To this in due course an answer was returned as follows:—"To His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster:

"Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lord: The magnificent letter which the most illustrious and right reverend bishops of England very lately addressed to the bishops of Germany in reference to the Fulda memorandum of the 20th of September last, and which address I received at the same time as your grace's letter dated the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, has given me in common with all my brethren of the German episcopate to whom I immediately communicated the same, both joy and consolation; the more so as we had previously been grieved

by a lately published expression of opinion proceeding from England in favor of the enemies of the Church in Germany. United in heart with all my brethren in the episcopate by their especial desire, and in their name, I hereby express to you, most excellent Lord, and to all the venerated bishops of England our warmest thanks for your frank and precious testimony of brotherly love and communion to which I join the earnest hope that you all to whom we owe this gratifying consolation would deign to help us in the grievous affliction which at present encompasses us, by your pious prayers, until there shall return the time of peace and rest which we hope for from Him who above all loves his Church and her liberty, at present we grieve to say, so lamentably straitened in Germany. Allow me to profit by this opportunity to make known to you all the fact that the bishops of Germany had some time back addressed to the Holy See a memorial that the feast of the glorious martyr and bishop Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, who rendered the greatest services to the Holy See and to the whole Church, might be prescribed to be celebrated as a double feast throughout the whole Church. May we hope that it please your grace and your right reverend brethren, the English bishops, to present to the Holy See the same supplication in honor of St. Boniface, who receives the greatest veneration, not only in Germany, but also in England, his native country—in order that the veneration and invocation of the holy Apostle of Germany being increased over the whole earth, Germany may the more quickly obtain, by his intercession, aid in the present tribulation. With sentiments of the greatest veneration and brotherly love, I remain, your grace's most devoted and most loving servant and brother. † PAUL, Archbishop of Cologne."

A little later on the Catholic population of Lower Austria sent an address to the persecuted bishop of Ermeland, in

which the following spirited and independent language occurs: "All true and loyal sons of the Catholic Church see that a life and death struggle is beginning, and one which concerns their most sacred interests, and this struggle must and will be carried on to a decisive conclusion, one way or another. The Catholic population is perfectly aware of this, and it has rallied, and does rally every day more closely and more heartily, round its natural leaders, the bishops, and round its chief commander, ever victorious in the end—the heroic old man, Pius IX."

These and kindred expressions of sympathy and encouragement which reached the German episcopate from divers quarters so far from altering the determination of government, served only to confirm the authorities therein. The state could not brook the idea of being thwarted in its purpose; it had undertaken to subject the episcopate to its will, and it was determined to do so. Nothing but a determination of this nature, of wholly enslaving religion and rendering the clergy the mere creatures and tools of the state, could have induced it to prevent the reading of the bishops' pastoral addresses to their flocks, and to forbid the attendance of Catholic children at the divine sacrifice on the Sunday because that on that day the devotions to the Sacred Heart of the Redeemer were to take place. In the face of such prohibitory measures, alike opposed to the letter and spirit of the constitution, as well as to man's natural rights, it is not to be wondered at that anything emanating from the sovereign pontiff would find an unfavorable reception in the newly-formed empire. The reader will not be accordingly surprised to learn that, at this juncture, the entire national press was prohibited publishing the sovereign pontiff's allocution, while those who had done so already were suppressed by order of government.*

* The papers confiscated were the Braunsberg Gazette, the Frankfurter Zeitung, the Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, and the Spener Gazette.

The tyrannical measures of government, in the matter of freedom of speech, were not even confined to this. It was not sufficient for its purpose that the voice of the Father of the faithful should be hushed in the land, and that the admonitions of the bishops in their pastoral addresses should be no longer heard in the churches; but the commonest declaration of Catholic principles was enough to alarm the powers and to constitute a crime. Hence it is not a matter of surprise that the journal containing the declaration of principles on the part of the Catholic Union of the country, was visited with the displeasure of the authorities. It would indeed have been much more effective to have suppressed the Union at once, but this could not be readily harmonized with the high-sounding assertions of liberty then pompously boasted of. When, however, a plea could be had, the authorities were only too ready to seize upon the most trifling excuse for dissolving such unions. Thus the Catholic Union of Aurich in the Lower Inn Valley and that of Batzen were suppressed for the openly avowed reason that their members voted contrary to the will of the government. At the same time orders were issued by the central government to the police authorities commanding a strict surveillance over the existing societies and requiring a regular report on the character of the speeches made at such gatherings. But these and kindred acts though in every way unworthy of the rulers and exceedingly embarrassing to the faithful, were yet only trifling in comparison with the measures that followed. Indeed it was only at this date, the beginning of 1873, that the German government may be said to have formally entered on its conflict with the Catholic Church. For at that juncture was framed and proposed to the legislature for acceptance and endorsement, a system of ecclesiastical polity which if carried into effect according to the design

of its authors, must necessarily have ended in the destruction of the Catholic faith in that land. That code, which from the minister who framed it and the time in which it received the assent of the legislature, has been indifferently named the Falk or the May laws, will ever remain as a stigma upon the men who enacted it and a blot upon the age in which it was passed.

In spirit and tenor the laws were most hostile to the rights and interests of the Catholic Church. The object of their authors was not indeed to abolish, but to enslave religion by making it a creature of the state. Hence Prince Bismark and his advisers did not propound the doctrine that the Catholic Church had no right to existence and should be got rid of. Such a proposition, to say the least of it, would have been inconvenient. It would be out of harmony with the sentiment of the age, and would come very badly from men who were constantly boasting of liberalism and desirous of being regarded as the champions of freedom and liberty. The object aimed at then was not the destruction of the Catholic Church in the sense of not permitting it to have any existence, or in the manner attempted by the apostate princes of the 16th century, by causing it to renounce its defined dogmas of faith. But if the authors of this modern persecution did not attempt so much, they labored to do what was equally injurious to the Catholic Church in Germany: they attempted to destroy its internal life, to extinguish its vital principle. Had they succeeded they would have strangled religion and left it a corpse.

Perhaps in adopting this course they were not entirely aware of the natural and logical consequences of the measures they were taking. Perhaps they did not fully comprehend the impossibility of any branch of the Catholic Church becoming purely and exclusively national, sub-

servient in all things to the will of the state without forfeiting its freedom, its rights and autonomy. Yet this was the policy, this the aim, of the legislators in this contest between the state and the Church in Germany.

The principles which dictated this course were not those of pagan tyrants, for in their case the civil and spiritual orders were duly recognized. And if they persecuted, it was because the will of the gods, as represented by Cæsar, was slighted. In the present instance, however, the case was entirely different. The motives that urged the oppressive legislation were of an entirely different character. They were the principles and teachings of that anti-Christian, rationalistic philosophy which for years has been so extensively cultivated and followed in Germany. The fundamental principle of this system is the supremacy of reason and the negation of revealed religion. And as a natural consequence, the state being the highest representative of reason, all divinely revealed truth is in its eyes the merest of folly and to be got rid of as expeditiously as possible. But as the total suppression and abolition of the Catholic Church in the empire, would be attended with the most dangerous consequences, and be probably impracticable, it remained only for the state to enter upon such a course and to adopt such measures as, while avoiding an open, violent persecution unto blood, would yet cause the religion to gradually die by diminishing its freedom, by destroying its authority, by abridging its rights and by curtailing its action. Here is precisely what the authors of the Falk laws proposed to themselves in framing that code. And indeed it must be acknowledged that the measures adopted were the best that could be desired for accomplishing the object intended. If carried into effect they could not have failed in attaining the end aimed at by their authors.

They were mainly of three classes and affected the authority, discipline and education of the Church. Their gist is very clearly set forth in the second section of the supplementary laws of January, 1874, where, after stating that those who desire to exercise episcopal rights, etc., must make a declaration to the prefect of the province, the law continues thus: "At the same time he (the bishop) must declare his readiness to bind himself by oath to be faithful and obedient to the king and to obey the laws of the state." Here the doctrine of the omnipotence of the state was plainly laid down. The question was not about rendering submission to laws in harmony with the laws of the Church, the dictates of conscience and the teachings of divine revelation. But the bishops were called upon to bind themselves by oath to accept and subscribe to all the legislative acts of the nation, regardless of whether they were against conscience or not, the state being in every instance the supreme arbiter to determine what was to be done or omitted. Thus the dictates of conscience and the requirements of divine revelation were wholly ignored. Of course the bishops could not, as responsible agents and guardians of the faith, pledge themselves to any such compact. To do so would be to be deaf to the voice of religion and recreant to their pastoral charge. They might, indeed, be considered as contumacious for this, they might be regarded rebellious and, as such, removed from their office. But come what may, under any and every circumstance, they had firmly resolved not to be unworthy of their office and to adhere to their principles. This they very clearly and emphatically laid down at the commencement of the contest, when at the close of their united pastoral issued in 1872, they said as follows: "The principles which we have now enunciated will ever be the rule of our conduct; and we deem it our duty to make for them every sacrifice

even the most severe; for they are the principles which our divine Master gave us when he said: 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.'"

That the bishops in acting thus were influenced solely by a sense of duty and in a spirit of loyalty to religion, every one who acknowledges the rights of conscience and the freedom of the individual in matters of divine worship must freely acknowledge. And the more the measures adopted by government are examined into, the more clearly this will appear. Thus by section xxxii. of the laws in question, a high court of justice for ecclesiastical affairs presided over by eleven laymen of any denomination whatever, was constituted at Berlin. To that supreme court of judicature, from whose ruling there was to be no appeal, the bishops of the Catholic Church in Germany were amenable in their spiritual relations with their priests and people. An acknowledgment of any such pretensions would be to put Cæsar before God. It would be to acknowledge the supremacy of the state, to make the spiritual subordinate to the temporal order. How could the bishops who held their commission from Christ submit their decisions and judgments, in the purely spiritual order, in matters solely ecclesiastical, to men of any or no religion. because forsooth being officers of the crown? The complications and consequences that would necessarily result from such a system, were it possible to be admitted, are plain to be seen. Church authority would be necessarily brought into contempt, rebellion would be fostered, refractory subjects would go unpunished, the door would be opened to abuses and errors; and in a word, the fundamental principles of Church government would be overturned, How, for instance, could a prelate pretend to govern his clergy if his lawfully rendered decisions were to be rever-

sed by a tribunal of laymen, and these not even of his own faith? Does not this system present a most ludicrous aspect? And not only was a reversal of the ecclesiastical sentence made possible by the tribunal referred to, but, as if to add degradation to tyranny, the ecclesiastical superiors who rendered it were called upon to remove their own condemnation, that is in the plainest of language to acknowledge themselves to have been in error and thus to degrade, dishonor and stultify themselves. This was the legislation, the system that the bishops of Catholic Germany were called upon to subscribe to upon oath, and the refusal of which earned for them such punishment at the hands of the state

In the matter of authority, then, the Falk laws, in the instance assigned, were plainly oppressive, intolerant and tyrannical, in that they were restrictive of the freedom and rights of the Church.

In disciplinary matters the code was equally objectionable and intolerant. One of the most sacred and inalienable rights of the Catholic Church, as indeed of every society recognized in the world, is that of governing according to its own laws, and of excluding from its fold and its membership those who revolt against its authority, either by violating its discipline or denying its teaching. To deny her this right is to deprive her of her freedom of action; it is to strip her of her safe-guard against error, and plainly to force her into a state of apostasy. For if the erring and rebellious cannot be corrected and excluded, the magisterial office of the Church is at an end, impiety has triumphed, and the truth is mortally wounded. Yet this is precisely what the legislation in question attempted to do, when, in the name of the state, it forbade the Catholic Church to excommunicate any of its members, and at the same time essayed to compel the Catholic bishops to remain in com-

munion with those improperly so-called "Old Catholics," who refused to listen to the voice of ecclesiastical authority. All that was plainly and unmistakably a tyranny and an oppression of the worst kind. It was equivalent to attempting to make the Church violate her own religious convictions. In reply, it would not be a justification to allege that excommunication by the Church carries with it certain civil disabilities; for the Church on her part, in excluding the unworthy from her communion, attaches no such disabilities to her act and is influenced solely with the view of saving herself. Again, the pretext that the doctrines of the Church are dangerous to the state is unworthy of a Christian nation. It is the old pagan maxim, that Christianity was the enemy of the civil order. But who, it might be fair to ask, was it that made this assertion? Not surely the members of any of the Christian denominations, but the worshippers of reason—the men who denied all revelation and were guided solely by their rationalistic ideas. So far as disciplinary measures, then, were concerned, the Falk laws were oppressive, intolerant, and impossible to be obeyed.

They were of a like and even of a more objectionable character in the matter of education. By their provisions the whole system of education was remodeled. It was withdrawn from the domain and supervision of the Church and made exclusively secular. This was simply aiming at unchristianizing the youth, for without Christian schools Christian education is impossible. To forbid the Church to enter the school, is to deprive her of her legitimate influence, to alienate the hearts of the young, to ignore the claims of religion, and to trample under foot the most sacred and important rights of parents whose natural and undoubted privilege it is to direct and control the education of their offspring. Nor was it merely in the matter of

the education of secular youth that the Church had just reason to complain, but also in the attempt made by the state to direct and control the education of her Levites for the sanctuary, that thus a national instead of a Catholic priesthood might be obtained.

In fine, the entire spirit and aim of the German legislation, for the last few years, in reference to the Church was of a similar character and complexion to this. The most objectionable and intolerant act, however, was the suppression and dispersion of the religious communities. As long as these religious communities committed no crime, violated no law, they had as just and perfect a right as any family or individual in the land to their corporate existence. The fact that they elected to serve God in religiously observing the evangelical precepts, was certainly no reason why they should not be permitted to exist. The Church, too, had a just and legitimate right to cherish them in her midst, and to make use of their services. And, indeed, it was because of the special needs and requirements of the times that she established such communities at all, and preserves them with such care and solicitude. Against this it is no justification for the enemies of religion to affirm that these associations did not belong to the essential organization of the Church, and that in suppressing them the destruction of religion was by no means attempted. The question is not whether the Church's essential organization was affected or not, but whether the freedom and rights of the Church were interfered with by such a course. And that they were must be plain to every impartial mind. For if the Church has a right to exist, she has also a right to develop her power, to set an example in the lives of her children of the highest standard of Christian perfection, that is the observance of the evangelical precepts as found in the religious existence. And finally she has a right to create, to foster

and cherish such organizations or orders as she deems necessary for meeting the special requirements, spiritual, pastoral, and educational, of the time. To prevent the Church from employing such means for developing her power for the diffusion of virtue and the suppression of error, yea, to take those means out of her hands by suppressing the religious communities, is plainly and incontrovertibly an oppression and tyranny of the greatest kind. It is to refuse to the Catholic Church what is granted to every other organization in the land; it is to smother and stifle the Church's vitality. How then could the Catholic prelates bind themselves to the observance of laws that were so hostile to and destructive of the interests of which they were guardians?

The reasons assigned for the suppression of the religious communities were worse even, if possible, than the measure itself. They were in substance, that the principles of the orders were immoral and dangerous to the state! It must surely not have occurred to the authors of this reason that the same would be equally applicable to the Church as their founder. For if the principles of the orders were immoral, the principles of the Church that created and fostered them must be also immoral, and so the same reason that would stand for the suppression of the religious communities would also stand for the suppression of the Church itself. It is, then, an outrage upon reason and a calumny on the Catholic Church to affirm that any religious communities, orders, or societies, established by her authority and employed for the furtherance of her work, are immoral in principle, and dangerous in their tendencies to the well-being and existence of the state. The Falk laws, then, were illiberal, unjust, and tyrannical, while the reasons assigned for their justification were erroneous and illogical. But this the reader will see plainer when there is question of their application.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NOBLE, INDEPENDENT ATTITUDE ASSUMED BY THE PRIESTS—CHARACTER OF THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE ON THE FALK LAWS—THE LUTHERANS PROTEST AGAINST THE LEGISLATIVE UNION—HOW THE MEASURE WAS CARRIED—THE COUNTRY FULLY AROUSED—ADDRESSES FROM ALL PARTS TO THE BISHOPS—THE BISHOPS PROTEST AGAINST THE ACTION OF GOVERNMENT—THE PEOPLE ENDORSE THE COURSE TAKEN BY THE BISHOPS—LIBERAL PROTESTANTS CONDEMN THE PERSECUTING MEASURES—PETTY TYRANNY ON THE PART OF THE AUTHORITIES—A PROJECT FOR SUPPRESSING ALL RELIGIOUS HOUSES AND EXPELLING THE INMATES—RELIGION BANISHED FROM THE SCHOOLS—INDEPENDENT ACTION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF POSEN—SYMPATHY FROM THE BISHOPS OF CANADA—THE MOTIVES THAT URGED THE PRIME MINISTER TO CONTINUE THE WAR—HIS TYRANNICAL ACTION TOWARDS THE CHURCH—THE PARISH REGISTERS SEIZED—LETTER FROM THE POPE TO THE EMPEROR AND FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE POPE.

When the draft of the new laws was presented to the legislature, it became a matter of serious consideration to the bishops how they should act in the premises. Upon due deliberation they resolved upon abstaining for the moment from all formal resistance, and to await the passing of the measure by the Lower House, when they would directly address themselves to the King and the House of Peers. Meantime, however, one of their body, Dr. Conrad Martin, bishop of Paderborn, in his individual capacity, protested against the action of government and reminded the Minister that the contemplated code was a violation of the articles of the constitution, subversive of all ecclesiastical organization and impossible to be obeyed by the hierarchy without a violation of the episcopal oath. The attitude assumed at the same time by the clergy in general is one which will ever

reflect the highest credit upon the German Catholic Church; for out of 30,000 priests there were hardly thirty who espoused the side of government! An address presented at this time to the prince-bishop of Breslau by his faithful clergy, manifests very clearly the sentiments that animated the general body to which they belonged. For in that document the signers affirm that they "are firmly resolved to remain inviolably faithful under every circumstance and even unto death to the oath taken by them as, priests." But neither the bishops' protests nor the clergy's declaration had any effect in altering the resolution of government. The state, had prepared its measures and was determined to have them passed into law and carried into execution. Towards the end of March '73, the first debate on the measure opened. It was especially remarkable for this, that the right of freedom of speech was wholly suppressed, not one Catholic member being permitted to speak on the occasion! The measure, however, was not suffered to pass without opposition. Herr Holtz and Herr von Gerlach, though Protestants, spoke energetically against it. The latter especially distinguished himself for his opposition, and declared that as a sincere Protestant he felt himself bound to oppose the laws on every ground, both legal, moral, and political. In this he was joined by a large body of the Lutherans of the country, who went even so far as to present a protest against the measure to the Landtag. In that document they represent the exercise of all disciplinary authority as incompatible with the projected code; and they employ in their reasoning the following remarkable language: "The goverment, by these laws has set itself in direct opposition not only to the rights of all Churches and sects, but to the express words and command of Christ and his Apostles, and it has thereby entered on an anti-Christian course, by following out which it may easily arrive at forbidding the

administration of the sacraments and the preaching of the word of God, under penalties, and finally will banish the Church of Christ from all public life. These laws are in flagrant contradiction with the constitutional charter (article xv) which secure to the Roman Catholic and the Evangelical Churches, as well as to every other religious society, the independent ordering and government of their respective concerns. These laws are in equal opposition to the highest interests of the state itself. Sound policy always holds fast to the principle of Roman jurisprudence. 'peccata nocentium nota esse et oportere et expedire,' and in so lawless a time as the present, the state ought rather to rejoice at the possession by the Christian Church of public disciplinary powers, which may come to its help. It is quite impossible that such a proposal can ever become the law of the land."

The petitioners were very much mistaken when they wrote the last sentence of the foregoing; they mistook entirely the character of the men in whose hands the legislation of the hour was placed. With a haste unbecoming in persons legislating for the common good and in a matter of the gravest importance, thereby betraying the motives by which they were influenced, the House agreed to a premature close of the debate without, as I have said, a single Catholic being permitted to speak, though several tried but in vain to be heard. The very circumstances, too, under which the debate was finished, showed still more clearly the hostility of the government party, for it was while the deputy from Coblentz, Herr Reichenspenger, was about to speak against the measure that the majority clamored so loudly for the termination of the proceedings, and the president, basely yielding to their unfair desires, pronounced the discussion closed. The matter was then referred to a committee of twenty-one, who reported according to the desires of government; but as some of the provisions of the new code

clashed with the articles of the constitution, it was found necessary to have the latter amended. Hence the xvth article of the constitution, which accorded to the Catholic Church and the sectaries the right of administering their own internal affairs and which ran thus, "The Evangelical Church and the Catholic Church as well as every other religious denomination, themselves regulate and administer their own affairs," was amended as follows: "Nevertheless, they remain subject to the general laws, as well as to the legal superintendence of the state." And the xviiith article of the constitution which declared that the right of "Collation, proposition, election, or confirmation, to ecclesiastical benefices was suppressed in so far as it belonged to the state and was not founded on patronage or other legitimate titles," was altered in this manner: "The general conditions for the training, nomination,or removal of ecclesiastics, as well as the limits of the disciplinary power of the clergy, are determined by the law. The nomination of chaplains to the army and to public institutions is regulated by special decrees." These amendments were submitted to the Legislature and passed the Lower House on the 31st, the former by a majority of 262 against 117, and the latter by 215 against 114.

The country was now thoroughly aroused to the true nature of the contest, and it was not slow in giving expression to its outraged feelings. From all parts, addresses of sympathy with the prelates and of regret at the course adopted by government, poured in upon the bishops, and contained declarations on the part of the clergy of the most filial adherence to their chief pastors, and their determination never to be unfaithful to their trust. The laity, too, in several instances, addressed their chief pastors in like affectionate terms. The bishops, on their part, were not slow in boldly and generously defending,

as far as lay in their power, the high and holy interests intrusted to their charge. With an unanimity and freedom of language which reflects in the most commendable manner upon the order to which they belonged, they addressed a lengthy and exhaustive argument to his Majesty's government.

The united address of the episcopate served a twofold purpose. It manifested to government the determination on the part of the bishops to resist, by every means in their power, all undue encroachment by the state on the rights and liberties of the Church; and it evoked, at the same time, the sentiments of the entire Catholic community in regard to the struggle then being conducted. For no sooner had the declaration of the bishops gone forth, than addresses of sympathy and fidelity to the cause they sustained poured in from all quarters from the clergy and laity all over the empire, the sympathizers being careful to declare that the document put forward was the undoubted expression of the sentiments of all the Catholics of the country who, under every circumstance, would stand by their superiors in the contest then being waged. Even the liberal-minded Protestant clergy espoused the common cause and protested against the passing of the law.*

Prominent Protestant laymen, too, and even influential Israelites raised their voice against the iniquitous measures. Herr von Gerlach, a member of the Evangelical Church, in a debate in committee on the ecclesiastical laws, attacked the projected scheme as arbitrary and unconstitutional and warned the House against carrying it into effect. On the other hand the Jewish editor of the new "Viennese Times," warned the government against the consequences of its course, on the ground that the destruction of Catholicism

* At this time the Protestant clergy of the kingdom of Hanover held a meeting and resolved to protest against the laws.—See Tablet vol. 9., p. 243.

which was evidently aimed at, meant the destruction of all forms of religion. "On one point we are quite in agreement with Ultramontanes, and that is in the identity of Catholic interests with those of all other religions. The pope is really the representative and deputy of God upon earth. If once his authority were to be broken down, the popelings of other religious bodies will hardly expect that one should show much respect for their doctrines. Catholicism is the great pillar of all belief and even Judaism is forced to lean against that pillar for support. Once let that pillar called the papacy be broken and all other religions will have lost their mainstay." * Apart from all religious considerations, it is not to be wondered at that the liberal-minded of every persuasion should have raised their voices against the proceedings of government. Indeed so unnatural and anti-Christian in sentiment were several of these that one can hardly recognize them as of the 19th century at all. The case of the Rev. Michael Zoller, S. J., furnishes an instance of this. Contrary to every sentiment of humanity and Christian benevolence, this virtuous religious, for no other reason than that of being a Jesuit priest, was refused permission to reside under his father's roof. He had to abide where the government appointed for him. His afflicted parent represented to the authorities that his son, not having committed any crime and being destitute of the necessary means for support, in consequence of the closing of the houses of the Society to which he belonged by order of government, nothing was more natural than that he should turn to his father in this extremity and expect to receive from his hands what was denied him elsewhere. The answer returned by the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt, to whom the petition was directed, is a sad commentary

* See Tablet, vol. 9., p. 275.

on the legislation inaugurated under the new *regime*. It is as follows:—

"Darmstadt, February, 1873—

"The Grand Ducal Minister of the Interior to the Grand Ducal District Magistrates of Offenback. His Royal Highness the Grand Duke hereby signifies that he rejects the petition of Conrad Zoller of Seligenstadt, and his complaint as unfounded; His Royal Highness is further graciously pleased to decide that it be signified to the petitioner, that his son, the Jesuit Michael Zoller, is ordered to conform himself to the arrangements made by the authorities—in virtue of the lately passed law—with regard to his place of abode. This is to be forwarded by you to the petitioner as the answer to his request of the 22nd of this month.

"(Signed) "Von Starck.
"Von Gajern."

This was followed by another official communication to the mayor of the locality where Father Zoller was residing, commanding that officer to see that the Grand Duke's orders were carried into effect within the space of three days, and to assure the inoffending cause of all this trouble that he would not be permitted to celebrate mass as he was a Jesuit priest and had been condemned by the law! That part of the official communication ran as follows: "He is not to be allowed to say mass, as he requested the permission of the police to do, because, although this would be permitted to him were he merely a Catholic priest, it cannot be tolerated by the laws of the empire because he is a Jesuit."

In keeping with this, though not equally as successful in its results for the intention of government, was the indictment, for high treason, of two Catholic noblemen for having signed a congratulatory address to the sovereign pontiff, thanking him for the firmness displayed in his recent allo-

cution. It is gratifying to record that the officers of justice were uninfluenced by the motives that actuated the government authorities, and acquitted, accordingly, the parties accused. The press, however, was not so fortunate in escaping the penalties threatened, and this on account of the more arbitrary proceedings adopted, the police being ordered to take possession of the offending journals. The "Volks-Zeitung" of the 10th of January was thus taken possession of and confiscated, on account of having published an account of the German Catholic Union. It was in this fashion that the authors of the newly-formed empire interpreted the liberty of the subject.

Hitherto only the members of the Society of Jesus had fallen under the condemnation of the government. But this not being sufficient to satisfy the Liberals, an effort was now made to bring into the same category, with the view of suppressing and expelling them, the members of all other religious societies and communities. To this end, a committee of the "Bundesrath," or Federal Council, was charged with the duty of determining which religious orders and congregations should be regarded as related to the Society of Jesus. The scheme was in every way worthy of its authors, and betrayed, very clearly, the motives by which they were actuated. As may be supposed, the members of the committee reported according to the wishes of their employers, and gave it as the result of their investigations, that ten other religious organizations were allied to the Jesuits. Of the relationship, however, as reported by the committee, the local governments were not entirely convinced in every instance, as was evidenced by the Bavarian authorities in excepting the Redemptorists and the Marian congregations, while the government of Hesse refused to recognize, as kindred congregations, the Brothers at Mainz and the Nuns employed in the schools. But

these were only trifling impediments in the way of the government of Prussia. Its main object was sufficiently attained when the great body of Catholic religious were brought under its immediate control, and made liable to suppression and expulsion, in virtue of the penal enactments. Meantime, the war between Church and state became more and more pronounced. On the 27th of March, an order signed by his Majesty appeared in the official gazette, suppressing throughout the empire the office of military chaplains. It ran thus: "In consequence of your collective report to me, I have come to the resolution of suppressing the post of Catholic military chaplain in the army, in virtue of this decree and till further notice. I hereby intrust you with the carrying out of all arrangements necessitated by the execution of this decree. WILHELM: Berlin, 15th of March, 1873: To the Ministers of War, of Foreign Affairs and of Religious Affairs."

Following immediately upon that was the suspension *en masse* of all the Catholic instructors in the schools and colleges of the Duchy of Posen, it being notified at the same time by the School Board that thenceforth all special religious services would be abolished in the schools. To meet this attack, the archbishop was not wanting in courage. Regardless of the consequences it might personally entail on him, and having in view only the faithful discharge of his pastoral office, the heroic prelate fearlessly fulminated a major excommunication against all who should dare to occupy the positions from which the clergy had been driven by the order of government. By this time the report of the committee on kindred orders, spoken of above, was presented to the Reichstag. The grounds on which the similarity between the organizations mentioned and the Jesuit community was said to exist, were, indeed, of the most ludicrous kind. They were, that in both instances their

aim tended to a centralization of power, and that the sphere of their actions was the world at large, divided into ecclesiastical provinces. Such were the reasons assigned for their similarity of character, and by consequence, for the illegality of their existence.

The noble and fearless independence of the archbishop of Posen who, as we have seen, excommunicated all who should dare to occupy in the schools of his diocese the positions from which by the order of government his clergy had been expelled, was again put to the test. In this instance he was brought more directly into contact with the state, for a demand had been made upon him in common with his brethren in the episcopate to submit to the civil authorities for approval the programme of studies used in the theological seminaries. To this he firmly but respectfully demurred, a course in which he was joined by the bishops of Paderborn, Treves, and Fulda. Not to be defeated in its purpose, government retorted by notifying all whom it concerned that none studying in a Paderborn seminary would be eligible for an ecclesiastical benefice.

In all this heroic struggle, it is gratifying to know that these fearless confessors of the faith were not left without consolation by their brethren in other lands. From the most distant parts, words of sympathy and encouragement reached them; as far as was in their power the Catholics of other countries upheld them in the glorious struggles. Thus at this juncture the following letter was forwarded to them by the bishops of Canada:

"To our venerable Brothers, the Archbishop and Bishops of Germany and of Switzerland: Venerable Brothers—The uproar of the persecution directed against the Church of your country has crossed the ocean and has filled our souls with deep grief. You are in suffering and the

sight of the evils endured by the flock intrusted to your care, together with the prospect of other evils still greater that threaten, aggravate our griefs. But we are filled with admiration at the noble attitude which you have taken up in the face of the persecutors of the Church and the invaders of her sacred rights. We, the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Quebec, now assembled in Council, cannot separate without expressing to those princes of the Church who are affording us so sublime an example of attachment to her sacred laws, our sympathetic sorrow.

"In this bitter, but impotent war, the powers of darkness wage incessantly against the Church. Their most recent attacks are directed against her august Chief and her principal pastors, to stifle their voice and paralyze their action. To overthrow the divine authority of the Church, to trample under foot her sacred laws, to dispute her right to exist on earth—such is the real end which is aimed at, although disguised under the studied formalities of courts, under the veil of pretended legality. You, venerable Brethren, have understood this, and your energetic protests, your courageous acts of resistance and the faithfulness of your clergy who are worthy of such leaders has proved to the persecutors that the Church's sons have faith in that word of their divine Master 'Portæ inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam.'

"Stand upright in the breach, venerable Brothers, and your firm attitude and constancy in defending the Church's liberties and in maintaining the truth, shall gladden the spouse of Christ and shall assure to yourselves a glorious part in those conflicts which must perpetuate victory. Yea, we say to you, with St. Peter, 'Communicantes Christi passionibus gaudete ut et in revelatione gloriæ ejus gaudiatis exultantes.'

"Meanwhile, venerable Brethren, we lift up our hands in supplication towards heaven, to God who ruleth the winds and the sea, and we pray that He would be pleased to disperse the storm and bring back calm and serenity to the sky of your beauteous country. May He cause days of consolation to shine upon you, and may He pour forth upon you the abundance of his consolations: 'Benedictus Deus pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra.' Receive, venerable Brethren, this expression of our admiration, of our warm sympathy, and of the wishes which we once more express with all the affection of our hearts.

"† E. A., Archbishop of Quebec;
† Ig., Bishop of Montreal;
† Jos. Eugene, Bishop of Ottawa;
† C., Bishop of Saint Hyacinth;
† L. F., Bishop of Three-Rivers;
† John, Bishop of Runouski;
† E. C., Bishop of Gratianopolis:

"Quebec May 27th 1873."

The motives which actuated the Prime Minister in commencing and continuing the war against religion of which we are here trying to convey a faithful account to the mind of the reader, were not, it has to be borne in mind, a mere undefinable hatred of truth, independent of and apart from his own personal feelings and aspirations. Indeed, the latter more than the former may be said to be what urged him to the contest. The glory he had acquired at Sadowa and Sedan was not sufficient to satisfy his ambition: he aspired to something more, that was the subjection to the state of the Catholic Church in the kingdom. This was what was wanting to crown his glory, for while his military exploits raised him to the highest pinnacle in the art of war, his remodeling or rather destruction of the Church would elevate

him above Luther and Frederick the Great. As far as human agencies could accomplish such a purpose, he was certain of success, for he had at his command for its attainment all the authority of the state and all the influence of the press. It is humiliating to consider what a combination of interests there were in this instance forthe destruction of divine truth,for it is not a secret unknown to any that the press, the stage, and the lecture-hall, were all on the side of the chancellor and exercised their utmost and united influence in carrying out his designs. Even the very art of painting was pressed into service in this unholy war, no less a person than the well-known Kaulbach, the director of the Royal Academy of Art at Munich, having lent himself to cater to the tyrant's taste by the production of a series of coarse caricatures on holy Church. Humanly speaking every thing was on the side of the Minister, and of the result he had little misgiving. That the application of his laws would succeed in ridding the country of the spiritual authority, he was thoroughly convinced; but in this he judged only superficially. The Jesuits, indeed, were gone, the Redemptorists were gone, the Vincentians were gone; but their work had remained. The suppression and expulsion of these communities by no means implied the destruction of religion. On the contrary, their sufferings, only awakened and evoked a deeper sense of religion in the breasts of the people at large. Hence the numerous protests, and unshaken attitude of the clergy and laity all through the empire; hence, too, the failure of the schismatical party known as "Old Catholics." Had the same efforts been made a couple of generations before, they would likely have been attended with a larger measure of success; but they came a half a century too late. The country had no longer her Dalbergs, her Wessenbergs and her Spiegels. She was now thoroughly loyal and attached to

the centre of Catholic unity, and hence the secret of her firmness and success in those her hours of trial.

The firm and independent attitude of the bishops, clergy, and laity, did not, however, prevent the Minister from pursuing his course of oppression and persecution. About the beginning of August, the archbishop of Gnesen and Posen was summoned to appear before the court of ecclesiastical affairs to answer to a charge of having appointed, without the sanction of government, a priest to the office of pastor or parish priest of Filehne. Of course the archbishop refused to attend to the summons on the ground of the incompetency of the court. In a document then published by him, he firmly repudiated the unwarrantable claims of the state and declared that in matters of a purely spiritual nature he could not acknowledge any other authority than the sovereign pontiff. As to the paragraph in the law making his actions a criminal offense, he took occasion to remind the authorities that before the promulgation of said code, he in common with his brethren of the episcopacy made it known to the authorities that a compliance with such laws would involve on the part of the bishops a violation of conscience and of their duty to God and the Church. This plain, straightforward answer had little or no weight with the enemies of religion, and the court of ecclesiastical affairs proceeded, accordingly, to incriminate the venerable prelate on the ground of contumacy. Meanwhile, the clergy appointed by the archbishop, without the approval of government, were prohibited, under penalties, exercising their ministry, and assured that every act performed in violation of this order would be regarded as *null*, and that especially all marriages contracted under such circumstances would be considered as invalid.

Immediately following the citation of the archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, the bishops of Breslau and Fulda were

also indicted on similar charges, but like their brother Mgr. Ledochowski, they repudiated the pretensions of the civil authorities and adhered to the declaration of the collective protest of the bishops of the country. This, though only their duty, was by no means a protection against the proceedings of the court, for the archbishop of Posen was condemned *in contumaciam* to a fine of 200 thalers, and the bishop of Fulda to 400!

The afflictions which the venerable prelates were thus necessitated to endure in the cause of divine truth, were not wholly unrelieved. They evoked expressions of good will and attachment, which considerably lightened the venerable sufferers' trials. Immediately upon the sentence being published, the clergy of Fulda waited upon their superior and in words of affection, which sprang more from the heart than from the lips, declared their unalterable fidelity and attachment to him and their determination to share with him, if called upon, even a prison cell.

On the 1st of September the new ecclesiastical court opened its sittings at Berlin. Hardly a fortnight had passed when it had before it nine bills of indictment against the archbishop of Posen, and as the fines to be inflicted for these and other like cases which were certain to follow, were sure to exceed the archiepiscopal revenue, it was suggested by the enemies of religion that the archbishop should be called upon to resign. This was only another manner of imposing a heavier penalty than a fine, namely imprisonment. But neither the fines nor the threats of his persecutors made any impression on this dauntless champion of truth. He still continued performing his duty and appointing pastors wherever necessity demanded their presence, regardless of the consequences that such a proceeding might entail on himself. The same spirit of independence and rectitude was shared, too, by the priests of

his diocese, an instance of which is here presented to the reader in the answer of Herr Wendtlandt who, when notified by the civil authorities that he would be prosecuted for every exercise of his functions, firmly but respectfully replied, "I will do my duty as heretofore, and will obey my lawful ecclesiastical authorities."

While the actions against the archbishop were pending an attempt on the part of the government was made to get him at least to revoke the appointment of the pastor of Filehne. But his answer was in keeping with the entire tenor of his proceeding. "If," said he, "it be thought that the bishops are exceeding their powers, let the matter be referred to the only competent authority, the supreme head of the Catholic Church."

Government now proceeded to still further extremes. Unable to prevent the appointment of pastors to the various vacant benefices, it resorted to the unworthy extreme of seizing the parish registers and official seals, thereby rendering invalid, as far as it was in its power, all acts performed under such circumstances. Nothing further now remained for the persecutors to try, but the prison. This the bishops were thoroughly aware of, and the manner in which they were prepared to meet such an eventuality was thus very clearly put forward at the time by the editor of a Polish Catholic journal: "One persecution after another will take from the bishops their last *groschen*, not only what belongs to them by virtue of the bull 'De salute animarum,' but also their private means. The same treatment will fall upon the chapters and the rest of the clergy. The prisons will open—and there are plenty of them—the parrishes will be deprived of priests, the children of ecclesiastical baptism, the confessionals and the pulpit will be empty; the altars will be stripped of their ornaments, as on Good Friday; the bells will be dumb, spiders will weave their

webs in the organ pipes, and what then will become of the people? We know not. Perhaps they will be scattered like a flock whose shepherd is smitten. Perhaps they will become the prey of despair, and with a stricken heart will cry to Heaven imploring mercy. And when 'the abomination of desolation' is complete in the holy place, then God will come to see what has been done with his people and his Church. But never will the Catholic people be torn asunder from the rock of St. Peter, and won over to Reinkens; never will it accept apostate priests, obedient only to the pagan state."

The time for the election of members to the constitutional assembly being now at hand, the bishop of Paderborn issued a pastoral address to the faithful of his diocese, advising them of their duty and urging them to a defense of their liberties, by a use of their constitutional rights in the election of Catholic members. As an offset to this, the Liberal party suggested to the government the exacting of an oath from the Catholic members, of a nature that would eventually prevent them from taking their seats. It was at this juncture that the late sovereign pontiff, of illustrious memory, Pius IX, wrote to the emperor Wilhelm, reminding him of the sentiments of good-will that his Majesty had formerly expressed towards his Holiness, and beseeching him to interpose between the suffering Catholics and their persecutors. At the same time the sovereign pontiff did not hesitate to affirm that the object of the measures adopted was the destruction of Catholicism, and would likely result in the undermining of his Majesty's throne, a reality which we at present thoroughly comprehend in the light of recent events. The following is the letter of the Holy Father to the emperor:—"Vatican, August 6, 1873,

"Your Majesty: The measures which have been adopt-

ed by your Majesty's government for some time past, all aim more and more at the destruction of Catholicism. When I seriously ponder over the causes which may have led to these very hard measures, I confess that I am unable to discover any reasons for such a course. On the other hand, I am informed that your Majesty does not countenance the proceedings of your government, and does not approve the harshness of the measures adopted against the Catholic religion. If, then, it be true that your Majesty does not approve thereof—and the letters which your Majesty has addressed to me formerly, might sufficiently demonstrate that you cannot approve that which is now occurring—if, I say, your Majesty, does not approve of your government continuing in the path it has chosen, of further extending its rigorous measures against the religion of Jesus Christ, whereby the latter is most injuriously affected, will your Majesty, then, not become convinced that these measures have no other effect than that of undermining your Majesty's own throne? I speak with frankness, for my banner is truth. I speak in order to fulfil one of my duties, which consists in telling the truth to all, even to those who are not Catholics, for every one who has been baptized belongs in some way or other, which to define more precisely would be here out of place—belongs, I say, to the Pope. I cherish the conviction that your Majesty will receive my observations with your usual goodness, and will adopt the measures necessary in the present case. While offering to your most gracious Majesty, the expression of my devotion and esteem, I pray to God that he may enfold your Majesty and myself in one and the same bond of mercy. Signed, PIO."

To this the emperor replied as follows:—

"Berlin, Sept. 3, 1873:

"I am glad that your Holiness has, as in former

times, done me the honor to write to me. I rejoice the more at this, since an opportunity is thereby afforded me of correcting errors which, as appears from the contents of the letter of your Holiness of the 7th of August, must have occurred in the communication you have received relative to German affairs. If the reports which are made to your Holiness respecting German questions only stated the truth, it would not be possible for your Holiness to entertain the supposition that my government enters upon a path which I do not approve. According to the constitution of my states, such a case cannot happen, since the laws and government measures in Prussia require my consent. To my deep sorrow, a portion of my Catholic subjects have organized for the past two years a political party, which endeavors to disturb by intrigues, hostile to the state, the religious peace which has existed in Prussia for centuries. Leading Catholic priests have, unfortunately, not only approved this movement, but joined in it to the extent of open revolt against existing laws. It will not have escaped the observation of your Holiness that similar indications manifest themselves, at the present time, in several European and in some transatlantic states. It is not my mission to investigate the causes by which the clergy and the faithful of one of the Christian denominations can be induced actively to assist the enemies of all law ; but it certainly is my mission to protect internal peace and preserve the athority of the laws in the states whose government has been intrusted to me by God. I am conscious that I owe hereafter an account of the accomplishment of this, my kingly duty. I shall maintain order and law in my states against all attacks, as long as God gives me the power. I am in duty bound to do it as a Christian monarch, even when to my sorrow I have to fulfil this royal duty against servants of a Church which I suppose acknowledges, no less than the Evangelical

Church, that the commandment of obedience to a secular authority is an emanation of the revealed will of God. Many of the priests in Prussia subject to your Holiness disown, to my regret, the Christian doctrine in this respect, and place my government under the necessity—supported by the great majority of my loyal Catholic and Evangelical subjects—of extorting obedience to the law by worldly means. I willingly entertain the hope that your Holiness upon being informed of the true position of affairs, will use your authority to put an end to the agitation carried on amid deplorable distortion of the truth and abuse of priestly authority. The religion of Jesus Christ has, as I attest to your Holiness before God, nothing to do with these intrigues, any more than His truth, to whose banner, invoked by your Holiness, I unreservedly subscribe. There is one more expression in the letter of your Holiness which I cannot pass over without contradiction, although it is not based upon the previous information but upon the belief of your Holiness, namely, the expression that every one that has received baptism belongs to the Pope. The Evangelical creed, which as must be known to your Holiness, I, like my ancestors, profess, does not permit us to accept, in our relations to God, any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ. This difference of belief does not prevent me from living in peace with those who do not share mine, and offering your Holiness the expression of of my personal devotion and esteem, I, etc., etc.

"(Signed) WILLIAM."

Nothing could be more disingenuous and untruthful than the main proposition here set forth by the emperor. When penning the document he was perfectly conscious of the fact that except in those cases where the application of the law intrenched upon the spiritual rights of the subject and involved a violation of the rights of conscience, no op-

position was offered to his Majesty by his Catholic subjects. The men who laid down their lives in placing the foundations of the empire, were not likely to be of that number, who would resist legitimate authority. The letter, however, served its purpose; it was employed, and with no small measure of success, to raise an anti-popery cry in the elections then being held. Such manœuvres might, indeed, be worthy of political demagogues, but not of an enlightened and liberal ruler.

As regards the charge of conspiracy and revolt laid at the door of the Catholics by the emperor, they were indignantly denied by that body. In a letter to the "Mainzer Gazette," the outraged feelings of the Catholics found expression in the following language: "Your Majesty has charged us in the face of Europe with disloyal intrigues. Now, our agitation has either been conducted within the limits of the law, and in that case you were not justified in bringing the charge against us, or our conduct has transgressed the laws, and, accordingly, we have committed the crime of treason. Will your Majesty then order your government, on the ground of the facts which must be at your disposal in presence of such a charge, to indict our leaders as traitors? After your Majesty has uttered so frightful an accusation against our honor, integrity, and loyalty, at least allow us to prove how ill-informed you have been."

How, it may be asked, was this noble and independent challenge on the part of the Catholics met by government. Were trials and examinations instituted to prove the charges alleged? Far from it. It was well understood that it was easier to accuse than to convict. The only attention the Catholic's indignant denial of the charges made against them received, was in the continued and still stricter application of the penal code in their regard. In every instance, where appointments were made by the bishops without

the approval of government fines and penalties were imposed, and when these exceeded the episcopal stipend allowed by the state, the prelates' private resources were seized to meet the deficiency. Thus in the case of the indomitable champion of the liberties of the Church, the archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, his lordship's carriage and horses were seized upon by the authorities in payment of the penalties imposed. And when the generosity and affection of a faithful people presented him with another, these, too, became the prey of his rapacious persecutors so that it became necessary for him to decline any further generosity from his affectionate people. Only one step now separated him from a prison-cell, and to that he was condemned in default of being unable to meet the additional fine of 900 thalers imposed upon him at this juncture. Indeed it may be truly affirmed that a reign of terror had now been fairly inaugurated. The government would brook no opposition to its will; in executing its purpose it looked only to its own interests and disregarded every claim of conscience and divine authority. Whatever did not fall in with its views, had to disappear and be removed by violence. In fact, the principle actuating the ruler at that moment was the pagan one, of the state's entire supremacy. Every-where hundreds of priests were prevented from performing their sacred duties, others were expelled from their dwellings and necessitated to take up their abode in private lodgings, while even the very laity who sympathized with their suffering pastors became the objects of the government's displeasure and suffered accordingly. Thus, in the district of Dusseldorf, the Catholics who had the courage and humanity to remonstrate with government in behalf of their priests received the following intimation: "By acknowledging Herr Junker as your lawful priest, you have put yourselves in contradiction with the laws of the country; and if you

give him any facility, assistance or remuneration for the exercise of any parochial functions, you expose yourself to the danger of being punished by the law for having participated in an act liable to punishment." The Catholic press, too, was held responsible for and threatened with the direst penalties for expressions which in no country, except where liberty of expression had been utterly extinguished, would be regarded as criminal. As instances, we need only mention the cases of the "Germania" and a Westphalian journal, both charged with the crime of high-treason, the former for having condemned the publication of the correspondence between the pope and the emperor, and the latter for the assertion that Prussia was then suffering for the sins of 1866.

In a former page we stated that the parish registers and official seals were ordered to be seized by the civil authorities, in cases where the pastors were appointed without the consent and approval of government. This order was now formally renewed in a circular issued from the office of the Minister of Worship, Herr Falk: "A priest appointed contrary to the law is not entitled to keep the parish register, and all the entries and extracts he makes are devoid of public authenticity. In order, therefore, both to preserve the parish register from falling into disorder and to secure regular ecclesiastical certificates for the members of the parish, we order, that whenever an ecclesiastical office, with which the keeping of parish registers is connected, either has been taken possession of or will be taken possession of, contrary to the law, not only the parish register, but in order to prevent abuses, the parish seal shall also be immediately seized and delivered into the hands of the respective royal government, which for the keeping of registers is the only competent authority over the priest; and the government, if requested by the parties interested, will then deliver the ecclesiastical certificates out of the register."

This order was literally carried out in every instance to the entire gratification of the authorities, but not without very considerable opposition in several cases, the doors of the churches in some places being closed against the authorities, and the chests where the registers were kept being necessitated to be broken open before the orders of government could be fulfilled. But even such energetic action as this was not sufficient to satisfy the enemies of religion. Hence the Minister of Worship urged at this date upon the civil tribunals a more vigorous course. Every individual offense according to this functionary should be attended by a serious reproval and followed by a trial and conviction.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF POSEN CALLED UPON TO RESIGN HIS SEE—HIS INDEPENDENT ANSWER—WITHDRAWAL OF STATE AID FROM THE SEMINARIES—MORE STRINGENT LAWS STILL PASSED AGAINST RELIGION—THE ARCHBISHOP OF POSEN INCARCERATED—THE AFFECTION OF THE PEOPLE FOR THEIR CHIEF PASTOR—THE NEW LAWS BROUGHT INTO EFFECT—SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES—HEART-RENDING SCENES—A SINGULAR TRIAL—THE CLERGY ARE ANIMATED WITH THE SAME SPIRIT AS THE BISHOPS—PETTY ANNOYANCES OF GOVERNMENT—BRIEF OF PIUS IX. ENCOURAGING THE CATHOLICS—THE BISHOPS CALLED UPON TO CELEBRATE THE VICTORY OF SEDAN—THEY REFUSE—THE NUMBER OF PRIESTS PROSECUTED UP TO DATE—THE BISHOP OF PADERBORN'S REPLY TO GOVERNMENT WHEN CALLED UPON TO RESIGN HIS SEE—GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS PROHIBITED READING CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

It did not require any special persuasion to induce the minor authorities to adopt the advice spoken of in the concluding paragraph of the preceding chapter. They were only too ready to enter into the minister's views in this particular, as well as in everything else of a kindred nature. This they unmistakably showed in the execution of the ultimate act of atrocity in the case of the Archbishop of Posen when that venerable prelate was called upon by the local civil authorities to resign his see. To this arrogant, unconstitutional demand, the archbishop made the following firm and dignified answer:

"To the Oberpräsident of the Grand Duchy of Posen——

"Mr. President: Although your letter of the 24th inst. has caused me great sorrow, inasmuch as it is doubtless the prelude to fresh blows aimed at the Catholic Church in my diocese, and the announcement of fresh griefs and severe

trials in store for the faithful intrusted to my pastoral care, nevertheless it has caused me no surprise. In effect, ever since the royal government declared war against the holy Catholic Church in the countries subject to his Majesty, Our Gracious Sovereign, I have often had reason to feel convinced that the officials of the state make no account of what the holy Catholic faith means, and are utterly unable to comprehend the obligations which it imposes on its adherents. Such, Mr. President, is the only interpretation I am able to put upon the despatch above referred to, in which you summon me to surrender my archiepiscopal dignity, adding that unless I do so within the term of eight days, you give me notice that you shall apply to a lay tribunal at Berlin for my deposition.

"That episcopal charge of mine, together with all the duties and rights appertaining to it, I hold from God, by the hands of His Vicar on earth. In virtue of that power which was given to me by God Himself, 'Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam Dei,' do I govern the portion of the holy Catholic Church which was committed to my charge by the Holy Father. Therefore, no lay power is able to annul my mission. The material force of the world's powers may, indeed, render it impossible for a bishop to discharge his sacred duties. It may prevent him from exercising the rights that belong to him; but it can never succeed in depriving him of his charge, for man has no power to suppress the spiritual office which God has given to the pastors of souls.

"Therefore the proposal that I should surrender or be deprived by any state tribunal whatsoever, can never be entertained. The attempt to do so would have no validity in the eyes of God, or of the Church, or of the Catholic world. No doubt I may be materially deprived of the possibility of discharging my duties, I may be prevented from exercising my

rights, yet, notwithstanding, these rights will never cease to be imperscriptibly mine. So also no tribunal of the state has power to release me from the duty incumbent on me, of fulfilling my ecclesiastical charge. As to any voluntary renunciation on my part of the archbishopric of Gnesen and Posen, that might, doubtless, under certain circumstances, take place with the consent of the holy Father. But I believe that you, Mr. President, know me well enough to be quite assured that I should, under circumstances like the present, be ashamed to take a step of that nature. I should, indeed, be unworthy of the dignity with which God has invested me, if, on my own accord, I could desert my flock at a moment when it is in peril of becoming the prey of infidelity, heresy, and schism. My duty is to defend the spiritual interests of the faithful of my dioceses, and not to give way before the threat of sufferings of any kind, nay, even of death itself. 'Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis; mercenarius autem, et qui non est pastor videt lupem venientem et dimittit oves et fugit.'

"Such, Mr. President, is the declaration which I had to make to you in reference to my resigning the archbishopric of Gnesen and Posen, and to my being deposed therefrom, of which you have spoken. Now, although I consider it unnecessary to enter upon any detailed examination of the points which you, Mr. President, have raised in your letter of the 24th inst., inasmuch as they have been already amply discussed in my part of the correspondence which has passed between us upon each one of them severally, yet I wish to make a few general observations upon the whole of them collectively. You, Mr. President, have referred to some of the most important acts of my spiritual government, done between the month of September, 1872, and the present time, and you find in them sufficient reasons to justify the

truly strange conclusion which I find stated at the end of your letter. I should never have ventured myself to enumerate these facts, for they form a testimony to my conscientious fulfillment of my episcopal duty. That is the product of God's grace succoring man's weakness, and aiding him to discharge the obligations of his state, difficult as those may often be. In any case, I thank you, Mr. President, for having given this testimony to my fidelity towards God and towards the duties required by the holy faith. Similar testimony, well-deserved and most honorable, you render to all my clergy and to all the people committed to my pastoral care. Such testimony, avouched as it is, in your official despatch, confers high honor before the whole world on the priests and faithful of my two archdioceses. In fact *there are but two ecclesiastics in all who have been wanting to their faith*, and it may be that even they have acted without full consciousnes of what they were doing, and I do not believe that among the laity those have been more numerous who have broken their vows to their God and to their Church. It is true that you, Mr. President, look at these things from another point of view, and that you call a misdemeanor that which most ennobles a man before God and before men. But your way of looking at things can in no degree alter their real nature. In the first ages of Christianity, the pagan officials adjudged those to be rebels who gave to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, but first gave to God the things that are God's. It is sad to see how you, Mr. President, by a process of reasoning which eludes my comprehension, hold us Catholics to be dangerous to the state, because we will not expose our souls to the danger of eternal damnation, by violating our duty towards God and towards the Church.

"You, likewise, fall, Mr. President, into another error, when you assert the opinion that the firm adhesion of the

clergy and faithful to the principles of Catholic truth, and their unshaken perseverance in the paths of duty, notwithstanding the unheard of pressure that has been put upon them, and notwithstanding the severe persecution to which they are subjected—that this firmness, I say, and this perseverance are the effect of my influence and the encouragements held out to them by my authority. No, sir, they are the fruits of the grace of God, for no mere human example and no mere human influence are capable of producing effects so great and so admirable. None but God can do it, for it is written, 'Infirma mundi elegit Deus ut confundat fortia.' † MIECISLAS, Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen: Posen, November 25th, 1873."

This fearless, independent reply was greeted by the Catholics with universal applause. It was not that they had not anticipated it, but still its publication added to their joy and confirmed them in their determination of resisting their oppressors. Government did not proceed immediately to extremes; the position was an embarrassing one—for the imprisonment of a Catholic prelate for fidelity to the dictates of conscience was sure to be regarded by the world at large in an unfavorable light, while, on the other hand, to obtain the end proposed by the state, no other means remained to be tried.

Meantime, the governing powers were led to the commission of acts which, even for themselves, must have been exceedingly humiliating, and which demonstrated conclusively to all, their hostility to everything Catholic. Of this class was the withdrawal by the state of the revenues of the ecclesiastical seminaries until the episcopate would consent to the observance of the obnoxious code. In its littleness, too, government descended to the paltry alternative of interdicting the organists and sacristans from their accustomed duties! But even this was ineffectual to the

attainment of the object proposed. Another serious impediment was also encountered at this juncture by the authorities: that was the inability of the condemned to meet their pecuniary fines. Already 17,000 thalers were due by the archbishop of Posen, for fines to which he was condemned while the last article of his furniture had been seized to meet a series of similar prior demands. To supplement this emergency, a bill was introduced into the legislature substituting in every case, where it was needed, imprisonment for fine. Thus the ecclesiastical functionaries were brought more immediately and effectively under the power of the civil authorities. But even this was insufficient to satisfy the demands of the state. The object aimed at being to render the Church a mere appendage or servant of the civil power, the following project of law was formulated by the Minister and proposed to the Lower House for acceptance. In its character and tendency this measure was far more intolerant than anything that had preceded it. Indeed, so entirely opposed was it to the liberties and freedom of religion that, as was truthfully said at the time, it would have been more honorable for government to have introduced a measure declaring the inadmissibility of the Catholic faith any longer in the Prussian dominions.*

Not long after this project of law was proposed to the legislature, the last act of atrocity was perpetrated by government. On Tuesday the 2d of February, his grace the archbishop of Posen, was arrested by the Director of Police and conducted to the prison of Ostrona in the province of Posen. This high-handed act of injustice called forth a vigorous protest from the bishops of the country, but to no other effect than to increase the hostility of government against everything Catholic. Even the expressions

* See appendix.

extended to the venerable sufferer became a cause of complaint to the authorities. But what was far more unpleasant for the captive bishop was the resolution of government not to permit him to celebrate the divine mysteries while in confinement. It was at this stage that the new bill depriving ecclesiastics of the civil rights as citizens of the German empire, in case of a non-compliance with the Falk laws, passed the Bundesrath at Berlin. This was carrying matters to the utmost extreme; it was virtually informing the Church, that unless she conformed to the new order of things and obeyed the civil authorities in all their demands, she would not be permitted to exist in the empire. The energy and recklessness displayed by the government in pursuing with fines and imprisonment the chiefs of the Catholic community, was an evidence how determined they were to accomplish under every circumstance the work they had undertaken to do. Thus not content with the imprisonment of the archbishop of Posen, an additional order was now issued for the incarceration of his brother prelate, the venerable archbishop of Cologne. For some days previous it was known what the intentions of government were, and as the faithful were powerless in the matter, it only remained to them to give expression to their sympathy and affection for their beloved chief pastor as long as they had him in their midst. To this end, numerous deputations called on his grace, assuring him of their sorrow and affliction for the evils that awaited him, and pledging him at the same time their most loyal and devoted attachment. The whole of the afternoon of Passion Sunday was occupied in this way, while again vast numbers of the populace assembled in front of the archiepiscopal palace, and gave expression to their feelings of affection and attachment by singing the hymn, "Wir sind im wahren christenthum." But it was when they

came to the words "Fur diese Wahrheit gibt der Christ sein Blut und Leben der," that the enthusiasm became intense. For days previous, like demonstrations had continued, especially, whenever the archbishop appeared in public, so that a Catholic contemporary of that date, the "Westphalia Mercury" was enabled to say that though the prelate was separated from his flock and cast into prison, he would still live in the affections of the people—they would be faithful to him and to the cause that he represented.

These outward, ardent expressions of sympathy extended by the people to their outraged prelates was, a cause of the greatest displeasure to the Liberals and to the government. When the fact of the demonstrations could not be denied, the enemies of religion endeavored to discredit them by attributing them to anything but the deep-rooted love and affection of the Catholic faithful for their suffering bishops. But the magnificient demonstrations got up in favor of these confessors of the faith on emerging from their prison cells, was a proof, if any were needed, how little the incarcerated had to do in obtaining ovations for themselves. The very frankness and simplicity, yet majesty of the language employed by the faithful on those occasions, would of itself be sufficient to refute such a charge. "We have come," said the leader of one of those imposing demonstrations, "to renew our baptismal vows before the world; we are Roman Catholics and Roman Catholics we will remain, come what may. Nothing shall separate us from the rock whereon Christ built his Church. With Peter, the fearless rock, we will remain steadfast; like him we will imprint our faith, our love of our crucified Lord deeper and deeper in our hearts and confess them more and more joyfully. For this our faith . . . we will live, for this we are ready to sacrifice all things even to blood." At

the same time the German Catholics residing in Rome gave expression, their feelings in a like manner.

These and similar expressions of loyalty to the cause of truth, earned for the Catholics the appellation of rebels. Theirs indeed was an unenviable position; if they remained passive they were indifferent, and if they protested they were rebellious. Even the pastoral teaching of the prelates, though couched in the most guarded language, was not suffered to escape the vigilance of government, and earned for its authors the heaviest chastisement. The mere assertion, by the bishop of Paderborn, that the object of government was to separate the Catholic Church of Germany from its allegiance to the Chair of Peter, caused that prelate's address to be seized and an action instituted not only against him but against all his diocesan clergy who read from their pulpits the obnoxious document. In harmony therewith the same venerable prelate was subjected to six weeks' imprisonment for appointing without the approval of government, a priest to a parish. But more invidious still was the action of government in seizing upon the archeipiscopal revenues of the archbishopric of Posen.

These excesses, however, on the part of the authorities were not without their advantage. They awoke the dormant faith of many, and bound close to their pastors the great body of the believers. Not unfrequently the most touching and edifying scenes were enacted, and scenes, too, which practically thwarted the intention of the government. Of this class was the action of the Catholics in the case of the bishop of Limburg. On the sale of that prelate's effects, his lordship's carriage was bought by one of his faithful subjects and presented to the good bishop, but only as a life-gift in order that government might not have it in its power to seize it again. The enthusiasm of the people on learning the object for which the vehicle was

destined, was intense. Detaching the horses and taking their places, the multitude, after having adorned the carriage with all kinds of flowers, drew it in procession to the episcopal residence and had it formally presented to the owner. Thus the government was defeated by the pious liberality of the faithful.

The new supplementary laws with which the reader has been made acquainted, were now brought into operation. According to the sixth section of that code the canons of the chapter of Posen were called upon by government to elect a vicar-capitular instead of the unlawfully deposed occupant of the see, Mgr. Ledochowski. To the credit of the authorities it has to be acknowledged that they did not consider the canonical electors capable of so unworthy an act, for, before the close of the time appointed for the election of the ecclesiastical dignitary, a state official was duly appointed by the government to administer the property of the diocese. This violent and high-handed usurpation of the most sacred rights of the Church was not left unresented by the Catholics of the empire. At Mainz, the Catholic association of that place protested in the name of their brethren at large against it. But the only attention their protest received was that of having the Catholics regarded and branded as a war party hostile to the interests of the nation at large. Meantime, the bishops yet at liberty met at Fulda on important affairs respecting the administration of their respective dioceses. At the moment it was boastfully asserted by the enemies of religion that the object of their assembling was for the purpose of making certain concessions and yielding to the wishes of the government. But how entirely unfounded and improbable was the assertion, the future independent and unbending course pursued by the bishops abundantly proved. Nor were the inferior clergy less resolute and faithful to their respective charges.

After a year's trial not a single ecclesiastic in the whole of the Rhine provinces, was found to co-operate with the government, in carrying out the newly-framed code, though hundreds in consequence were suffering for their fidelity. Not even the tempting offers of the state, in the shape of a liberal salary and brilliant positions, were capable of withdrawing them from their allegiance and fidelity to conscience. This firmness, however, was not sufficient to save the religion from terrible evils, the extent of which may be judged from these words of an eye-witness: "Catholic Alsace will soon be only a great ruin. Everything belonging to the Catholic Church will be pulled down, shattered and totally destroyed. Nothing that our fathers and forefathers —nothing that we ourselves have sought to preserve with child-like love and devotion, meets with any mercy. The blow of destruction crushes all. Soon we shall not have one Catholic school for our children, although they are nine to one in number."

In the diocese of Posen, wherein the civil administrators were duly installed, as has been stated above, a very affecting and heart-rending scene was enacted in the month of July, 1874. The new official officer of the government, to prove his zeal for his employer's interests, deemed it his duty to order the suppression of the religious community styled the Demeritants. On the day fixed for the execution of this order the Church was crowded with the faithful. It was a number of friends parting with most affectionate companions. Never before, perhaps, did such tender devotion manifest itself in the conduct of the worshippers, but it was when the celebrant took the ciborium from the tabernacle with the view of consuming the sacred host that the faith and devotion of the people made themselves espcially felt. Loud sobs and half stifled expressions of regret then

burst forth from all parts of the sacred edifice to be repeated only, and with even with more impressive earnestness, when the lamp, as on Good Friday, was extinguished. Still the people lingered unwilling to leave a sanctuary where for so many years they had received the consolations of religion. The day wore away; evening approached, and yet the people were there. Next morning came and next evening and the people were still there; but at seven o'clock, on the evening of the second day orders were given to clear the Church. The people did not resist, but with tears and sobs left the sacred edifice, leaving in the hands of that divine providence which taketh account of all wrong-doing, the chastisement due to so glaring an act of injustice. Thus the faithful Catholics of Storchnest in the diocese of Posen were deprived of their place of divine worship.

It will be borne in mind that by one of the provisions of the new law, whenever a parish became vacant and was not filled up, the Catholics of the place were empowered to elect their own pastor, in case ten of the congregation voted for that purpose. An attempt on the part of the government to give effect to this measure, met with a serious rebuff at Greisdorf in Hanover. On the day appointed for the election the Catholics assembled in numbers, and instead of complying with the invitation given them, unanimously resolved not to accept any one as pastor but the priest duly appointed by their lawful ecclesiastical authorities.

A little prior to this a very touching and characteristic occurrence took place in the instance of the bishop of Paderborn. That prelate having been condemned to imprisonment, in lieu of a fine of 400 thalers which he was unable to pay, was preparing to give himself into the hands of the

authorities, when a friend came forward in his behalf and paid the fine, thereby relieving him from the necessity of undergoing imprisonment. This the bishop refused, unwilling that any one should suffer for him, and even questioned the legality of the proceeding on the ground that a third party had no authority and was not legally authorized to liquidate the indemnity. He accordingly appealed against his release; but the Imperial District Court sustained the action of the civil authorities, and declared against the bishop. Thereupon to avoid the recurrence of anything so unpleasant to his feelings and so entirely opposed to his high sense of honor, he made the following announcement to his faithful people: "As soon as I received the news of my deliverance, I thought I could make no better return for the touching affection which procured my freedom than to offer up the holy sacrifice of the . . mass for all my unknown and noble benefactors. At the same time I thought that it was not fair that the innocent should suffer on my account, and that the Exchequer should be enriched in addition to its severe laws. But as the local Court of Appeal has rejected my petition, nothing remains for me but to return my heartfelt thanks to my flock, and earnestly entreat of them not to show their love for me on a future occasion by a similar act. I would rather be imprisoned myself than see my flock gradually impoverished by paying such heavy fines for my sake. The suspense in which I have been for months is a martyrdom to which a prison would be preferable; and if I die in prison with my captive brethren, my death for the cause of justice under such circumstances, would cry aloud to heaven, not for vengeance on my persecutors, but for their conversion and salvation." So far from fearing the terrors of prison confinement, the bishops undauntingly accepted them in every instance, and while undergoing their term of captivity, bore themselves

with a dignity and courage worthy of the truest and most faithful soldiers of Christ. The following will enable the reader to form an idea of what they had to endure. Speaking of the sufferings of the archbishop of Posen, an eye-witness says: "I have just left the cell of the captive bishop and confessor, Ledochowski, and I never remember in my life to have seen a more noble and imposing sight—it wins the respect of all—than that of the primate of Poland, who has now been five months in prison. What a change has he undergone. His excellent qualities of head and heart seem to come out every day more and more since his captivity. As I looked at him the beautiful words of the Book of Wisdom came into my mind, 'Stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt et qui abstulerunt labores eorum.' I could not take my eyes off the noble prisoner in order to look around his cell, and I must own that I could not give a description of it. Unconsciously I fell on my knees before the bishop, and was able only to beg his blessing," etc.

A singular trial occupied the attention of the civil tribunals at this date. It was that of a number of noble ladies who had presented an address of condolence to the bishop of Munster. This the government objected to on the ground that passages in the document were disparaging to the powers that be. On the day set for the proceedings seventeen out of the twenty-six who had signed the address answered the summons. They drove to the Court of Assizes in their own carriages, the fearless and open profession of their principles being thus a triumph of the cause of divine truth. After an able and powerful defense made in their behalf by the counsellor, Windthorst, they were convicted and condemned, the principal, the Countess of Nesselrode, to pay 200 thalers or six weeks imprisonment, and the others to a fine of 100 thalers each or three weeks imprison-

ment. Four of the accused having declared that they had only an imperfect knowledge of what they were signing were acquitted. Such was the freedom allowed by a government that would liberate its subjects from the thraldom of the papacy!

At Kissengen at this time the chancellor of the empire, Prince Bismark was fired at and wounded slightly by a cooper. Whatever may have been the origin of that affair, whether a contrivance got up specially for an object entirely different from that of injuring the prince, as was seriously thought of at the moment, or whether it is to be attributed to infidel and socialistic teachings, one thing is certain that it was turned to very profitable account in the war then being waged against the Catholic faith. Under the plea of being unfavorable to the empire, and an encouragement and protection of all that was hostile to the state, all the Catholic unions of Berlin were now peremptorily dissolved and prohibited being re-opened under the severest of penalties. This in a condition of affairs where everything was managed so arbitrarily was highly injurious to Catholic interests, for only by means of such unions were the common sentiments of the faithful brought prominently forward. Nor was this even enough to satisfy the desires of the Liberal party. Domiciliary visits to the houses of the faithful were likewise inaugurated with the object of finding, as was alleged, some documentary evidence of the complicity of Catholics with the would-be assassin's attempt. The occurrence was employed, too, to crush the Catholic press, now a most powerful ally of the Catholic cause. Hence the anger of government and its hostility as expressed in this order:— "Berlin, July 15th, 1874.—It is evident that many unlawful acts and even crimes (such as the late attempt on the life of Prince Bismark) are to be attributed to the bad influence which some of the papers have over the

minds of their readers—especially such as comment on matters of church policy in a hostile spirit, thereby exciting the people and disturbing the public peace. We, therefore, order the government officers to direct their attention to these small local papers, and when anything objectionable is found to proceed against them with that full rigor of the law, which is that *all such papers are to be confiscated*, and all persons connected with them, either as publishers or editors, are responsible for their contents. These orders are to be carried out by all subordinate officers and all important matters are to be reported to the Minister of Justice.

"(Signed) FREIDBERG."

However intolerant and oppressive the foregoing must appear to the reader it does not place before his mind the government of the country in so humiliating a position as when engaged in prosecuting a female religious on the charge of high treason for some innocent expressions in regard to Prince Bismark. The witnesses against the accused were three young lady pupils but those not furnishing the necessary evidence, the charge of high treason was allowed to drop.

In a former page the reader has been informed how the bishop of Paderborn appealed against the action of his kind-hearted friends in paying for him the fine to which he was condemned, thereby saving him from imprisonment. At the time the lower court decided against the prelate and maintained the position that a fine could be paid against the will of the party convicted. This view of the case, however, was not sustained by the higher authorities. The Supreme Court of Berlin, before whom the case was carried by appeal, decided the matter otherwise—reversed the decision of the District Court and ordered the bishop to be imprisoned. He was accordingly arrested and on

the morning of the fourth of August, conveyed to prison. The scene witnessed on the occasion was most affecting and impressive. Hundreds of the faithful assembled to obtain the venerable confessor's blessing and to offer him the tribute of their affection. Many in their eagerness to express their attachment toward his person and the cause for which he was suffering laid hold of his garments when about entering the carriage provided for his removal, and would, had he willed it, have prevented the officers of government from carrying out their instructions. But like his divine Master, he was willing to suffer in the cause of divine truth. The hour of the powers of darkness had then arrived and he was willing to submit to the decrees of divine providence. The event is thus described by an eye-witness: "At 8 o'clock the bishop was seized in his house by the inspector, Kniepp, and the policeman, Drewel, and they drove him to the prison in an omnibus, as a carriage was not to be procured in spite of all efforts. The chapter had assembled in the bishop's palace in order to take leave of him, and once more to assure him of their firm adherence and attachment. The bishop in a few touching words expressed his thanks and gave his blessing to the whole diocese. He then addressed the two officers and asked them whether they intended to use force, for to force only could and would he yield. The policeman then laid hands on the bishop, and the bishop followed. The staircase and corridor were crowded with people who bade adieu to the bishop with tears and sighs. All the clergy of the town were present to receive once more their bishop's blessing. In front of the bishop's palace was a still more affecting scene. An immense crowd had assembled, of men, women, and children, and blocked up the whole street, so that a passage to the conveyance was

only effected by force. Many caught hold of the bishop's hands and his clothes as if to prevent him from entering the carriage. When at last he was seated in the conveyance, a loud cry burst from the whole multitude, and the fearless bishop, with tears in his eyes, gave his blessing to the assembled people. At the prison, the bishop was again greeted by a large concourse, and many voices were raised as the door of the prison closed on him."*—Thus the bishop of Paderborn accepted a convict's cell rather than impoverish his faithful subjects by allowing them to pay his tyrannical persecutors the sum necessary for attaining his freedom. It was a declaration, too, upon his part as to how little he cared for all the oppression that government could use in his regard. The same noble defiance was manifested by the archbishop of Cologne who, when in prison and pressed by his brother to accept the sum needed for his ransom, 3,800 thalers, firmly and unqualifiedly refused.

The example thus set by the bishops, had its effect on all the ranks of the clergy; all were ready to follow in the footprints and emulate the noble, independent bearing of of their courageous leaders. Not only did they manifest this admirable spirit in the more unjustifiable demands of their tormentors, but even in matters of lesser importance. Thus on the occasion of the accouchement of the Princess Albrecht of Prussia, orders were given by the ministry to the clergy of the chapter of Gnesen and Posen, whose venerable chief had been but recently lodged in prison, to offer a prayer of thanksgiving in the holy sacrifice of the mass. This, to their honor it has to be recorded, they resolutely refused to do. Like commands were forwarded to all the deans, but with no better success. The younger members of the clergy, too, exhibited a similar courage and indepen-

* Tablet, August 15th, 1874.

dence of character, as may be seen from the following address to their bishop on the eve of his imprisonment:—

"Most Rev. Bishop and Lord: When a few months ago on the feast of St. Joseph, patron of the Church, we thanked your Lordship for raising us to the dignity of the diaconate, we hardly believed it would be granted us to receive from your apostolic hands the grace of the priesthood. Our hearts were filled with sadness, when upon our promising to remain true to the Rock of Peter and to you, our lawful pastor, you spoke to us in fervent words of encouragement, confidence, and hope. We determined then to remain true to your lordship under all circumstances even to prison and to death. God's gracious providence has ordained that you should stand amongst us to day. Therefore on this day, when we have been admitted by God's grace to the high dignity of priests of the New Covenant, we once more bring to your feet our promise of unshaken loyalty in the fierce conflict that now rages; of faithful adherence, aided by God's grace, to the holy Roman Catholic Church, and of obedience to you, our sole, lawful apostolic Pastor.

"Most Reverend Lord, this time of our holy ordination is too sublime and solemn for us ever to forget its impression. It is as the renewal of the first Maunday-Thursday of the New Covenant. For as our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ who loved His own, loved them unto the end, and consecrated his Apostles to be priests, before He endured chains and bonds and death itself, for the redemption of man and the confirmation of divine truth, so do you, Most Reverend Lord, true to His example, love your flock and love it to the end. And thus your whole care has been, unmindful of your own concerns, to increase the number of its pastors, before the doors of your prison should close behind you. It is our turn now, Most Reverend Pastor, to

follow the chief shepherd of the Church in loyal devotion to Christ and his cause.

"We promise it, we swear it; for your Lordship's example fills us with courage and strength. You shall not be alone in making sacrifices for freedom and the rights of the Church. We are ready and glad to work, to suffer and to fight with you. The holy martyr Stephen, whose feast we celebrate to-day, shall be our model. And the words of St. Lawrence, 'Where are you going, O Father, without your son? Do not leave me, holy Father!' are also to-day our own words. Yes; and if the honor be granted to us to stand like this great saint, before our persecutors, with God's grace, we will say these words: 'I worship my God, Him alone I serve, and thy torments I fear not. So be it and may God give us this grace!"

Independent of the heavier penalties of the authorities, such as imprisonment, expulsion from pastoral charges, and the like, there were minor, petty annoyances which in a measure were more hurtful to the feelings of the Catholics and more difficult to endure. As an instance may be mentioned the violation of the rights of enclosure in the case of religious. Thus at Posen the imperial commissioners entered a religious community and under the pretense of searching for a person who was retained there by violence, they insisted upon being taken through all the establishment and into each of the cells and ending by requiring the religious to appear in their presence unveiled and to answer their questions as to whether they were under personal restraint. When all in turn had answered for their freedom their would-be liberators had to retire as they came.

In keeping with this, was the case of the Rev. Father Leusch, who on leaving his church to attend a dying person, was arrested and had to replace the Blessed Sacrament

in the tabernacle.* Even the very expression of sympathy for the confessors was construed into a crime and visited with a penalty. This was especially evidenced in the district of Coblentz, where the people on conducting their pastor with honor from his prison to his parochial residence were held guilty of misdemeanor, while the priest himself, for having recorded his thanks to the people for their expressions of kindness in his regard, was held guilty of an infraction of the newly-made code and sentenced to a new imprisonment of one month. Nor did the hostility of the government stop at that. The parish priest of the neighboring locality was fined five and twenty thalers for having sent his carriage to join the procession on the occasion; the father and brothers of the liberated priest, five and twenty, on the grounds of having got up the demonstration; while a clergyman friend, for having ridden a part of the way, was subjected to a fine of five thalers, and the driver to one thaler, while, more ludicrous still, an aged widow of three score and ten was summoned to account for her misconduct, on account of her son having sent a horse to the procession!

It is hard to realize how in an age of enlightenment, such as the present, any government pretending to liberality could descend to such paltry and unworthy contrivances, to crush out the spirit and independence of a faithful people. But it was vain for the authorities to resort to such means for in their dreariest moments the people were sustained and encouraged by the voice of the chief pastor, who on the part of God never ceased to remind them of the grandeur

* Neither the priest's request nor the entreaties of the crowd which had assembled, could bend the policeman; and so the former proceeded to replace the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle. Meanwhile, however, the officer (who was a Protestant) was encountered by one of his fellows (who was a Catholic) who on hearing the case, persuaded him to allow the priest to perform his duty and afterwards to take him to prison.—Tablet, Aug. 29, 1874.

of the contest in which they were engaged. Thus at this time while the petty annoyances mentioned were being had recourse to, and while bishops and priests were being incarcerated for fidelity to the duties of their calling, the sovereign pontiff, in reply to an address of the Catholic Congress of Mayence, took occasion, in a brief, to encourage his faithful children to constancy in the great struggle then being waged.

"Well-beloved Sons and noble Seigneurs, Health and Apostolic benediction——

"It was with a special sentiment of our paternal love that we received the letter which you sent us with so much affection and love on the day of the anniversary of our exaltation, in order at once to celebrate the day and to signify to us your firm perseverance in the Catholic faith during these days of calamity.

"The performance of this duty on your part has been most acceptable to us, and still more so on account of the devotion with which you are animated towards our person and towards the holy apostolic see; a devotion which every day becomes warmer by how much more unworthy we are every day treated by the impious, and by how much more the Catholic Church is every day more cruelly oppressed in Germany. We have experienced great consolation at learning from you that all the German Catholics are, like yourselves, united in heart and soul, and firmly resolved to defend the rights of the Church and to copy the example of these holy pontiffs who preferred to suffer the greatest earthly evils rather than to be false to their duty.

"The Church has acquired by such united action and invincible constancy, a glory far greater than that which is obtained by those who employ their force and their power against pious and innocent souls.... This is what strengthens the confidence which we place in you and with

which we hope that God will take pity on his people and that he will take the weapons out of the hands of the wicked, and will break in pieces those weapons which they are now using to fight against the Church and will grant her the victory, and give her peace after all the sufferings which she has endured. Do you, meanwhile, continue to pray without ceasing; and as an earnest of the divine goodness, receive the apostolic benediction, which we hereby bestow with all our heart on yourselves, on your families, and on all the members of your Association of the Catholics in Germany.

"Given at Rome at St. Peter's, this 22d of July, 1874, in the 29th year of our pontificate.

"PIUS, P. P. IX."

An encouraging voice was not without its need at that time. So vigorously were measures pushed by government that an approach to the early Church of the Catacombs was every-where being made. In many instances there was no security in celebrating the divine mysteries or in discharging any other office of religion without the greatest caution. Sentinels had to be posted and every avenue carefully guarded, in order to give information of the approach of the officers of justice. At Dipperz in the diocese of Fulda, this was the only way that the Catholics could avail themselves of the ministration of the clergy, for in that locality all the priests were either in prison or dispersed. The same dearth of priests was, to a great extent, felt in other parts, as many as nine having been expelled from Briton in Westphalia, in the latter part of August. It was during the course of these proceedings, as if to offer a further insult to the feelings of the faithful, that the government invited the Catholics to the due celebration of the victory of Sedan. To this the bishops respectfully but firmly demurred. Through their repres-

entative the bishop of Mayence they boldly declared their inability to join in the proceedings. "Religion," said they, "which serves truth, cannot take part in such things without lowering itself. . . . The party which now especially desires this Sedan celebration, is the same which stands this day as leader of the fight against Christianity. If that party is now impetuously demanding the co-operation of religion in this celebration, while it troubles itself very little otherwise about religion, the interest of religion is evidently not its aim. It celebrates in this Sedan festival the victory of its party over the Catholic Church. But the Church cannot rejoice over her wounds. That party wishes to force us under pain of failing in patriotism, to harness ourselves to its triumphant car, and to rejoice at our misfortunes. But we will not be thus mocked. They may talk about patriotism, but we will rather bear this accusation than degrade our religion, amidst derisive laughter, to such ends as this. We cannot at the same moment weep tears of blood and celebrate festivals of joy."

This independent well-timed protest was the cause of great annoyance to government. It roused to the highest pitch the anger of the Liberals; but the authorities were still powerless in the matter. Nor indeed was this the only thing in which government was defeated. The administration of the arch-diocese of Gnesen and Posen, as we have seen, was placed in the hands of a government official, the clerical appointee of the archbishop having been expelled. And yet the government of the archdiocese went on as before. Every attempt was made to discover the source whence the jurisdiction was obtained, but without avail. The clergy were summoned before the courts and letters intercepted in the post office ; but all to no purpose : the mystery remained and goverment was baffled. The authorities suffered a like defeat in the matter of forcing its nominees on the Catholic

congregations. An instance of this was witnessed at Xion in the diocese of Posen. An unfortunate priest of the government class, having been appointed to a living there, had to be conducted like a criminal between a brace of gendarmes to take possession of the sacred edifice the people crying aloud with all their might, "He is no priest; we won't have him; he is a renegade." More impressive still and far more expressive of the feelings of the people in regard to the course then adopted by government, was the scene witnessed at Meschede in Westphalia on the day of the departure of Father Fisher, who for twenty years had ministered to the people of that place. On the morning of his expulsion the whole town turned out to bid him adieu; the streets were hung with black flags; over the Church floated another banner of a similar character, while as the mournful procession moved along, more like a funeral cortege than an official triumph, the death-like silence was broken only by the sobs and cries of the afflicted people. Beyond this, one would imagine government would not be likely to carry its tyranny, but it did not stop even there. It showed its spirit of hatred to everything Catholic now in another way. For at this juncture, an order was issued by the Premier and his Ministers, Falk and Eulenberg, commanding, the expulsion within forty-eight hours of all the foreign religious whether priests, nuns, or monks, in the country. By virtue of this ukase, eighteen of the Carmelite nuns at Posen were peremptorily ordered out of the country and had to obey. Not even was it permitted to a foreign Catholic religious to travel through Germany or to make it his abode for a time for sanitary purposes. The number of priests prosecuted by government up to this date was in all about 2000! Of the sufferings they had to endure in prison the reader may form an idea from the following account of what happened to the incarcerated priests of Neuwied. "On their

arrival in prison each of the priests was closely searched. He was stripped of coat, waistcoat, and shoes, and minutely examined. They felt his breast, back, legs, even his toes. Then a door was opened for each of them and he was left in solitary captivity. The cells are twelve feet by six, containing only a bench and a stool. A little semi-circular window let in a scanty light through eighteen iron bars. In the day-time there was not even a palliasse in the room; for the bed consisting only of palliasse, straw pillow, sheet and one blanket, was brought in at night and removed in the morning. Until the priests were permitted to board themselves, they were compelled to live on *bread and water* with a little potato soup for dinner, and twice a week *three or four ounces of meat.* They could never see each other, and the one hour's walk in the court-yard was in solitude. Their reading was subject to the strictest scrutiny: three or four days each of them was without books or paper, and two of them were deprived of their breviaries for three days. They were not only prevented from saying mass, but even from hearing it. Such is the treatment of those priests who will not break their oath to the Church and their bishops."

But what were the offenses of which such persons were guilty? None other, in some instances, than that of having read to the people their bishops' pastoral address. For such an offense the diocese of Paderborn was constantly the scene of judicial proceedings, while even to express sympathy for the sufferers was enough to earn the displeasure of government and to be deemed worthy of fine and imprisonment. This was the crime of the Protestant deputy, Herr von Gerlach, who, for having expressed himself in a manner worthy of liberty, was subjected to a very considerable fine. But it was the Catholic press that especially suffered in this manner. Yet, contrary to the expectations of its enemies,

the severity employed, instead of destroying it, only served to increase its admirers and to extend the sphere of its influence. In fact punishment was its best advertisement and was used as such. "Prince Bismark," said the "Fulda Zeitung," "has inflicted the last punishment upon us. That is a sufficient appeal and guarantees an increase of subscribers." On all sides and from all quarters the same noble firmness and independence of character was manifested by the Catholics. Nor, indeed, was this at all to be wondered at, seeing the freedom and independence with which the chief pastors conducted themselves in the face of the fines and imprisonments that awaited them. A very forcible example of this nature was furnished by the Bishop of Paderborn when called upon by government to relinquish his see.

"Prison of Paderborn,
"Sept. 18th, 1874.

"To the Minister of Public Worship—

"Sir:

"All the suspicions and accusations of your Excellency regarding my episcopal functions are perfectly worthless, and I absolutely reject them as groundless. The summons sent to me respecting my resignation can certainly not be obeyed. Duty, conscience and honor forbid it. I am bound to my diocese by ties which can only be dissolved by God, through my death, or by the vicar of Christ, the Holy Roman Pontiff. Far be it from me at this time of severe conflict in the battles of the Church, to leave my place like a coward and abandon my faithful flock to its fate.

"Should your Excellency, in consequenc of this my refusal, proceed against me before the Imperial Tribunal of Church Affairs, and should this Tribunal pronounce the sentence of my deposition, I should consider this sentence

as null and void. The state has not given me my office, and the state cannot take it from me.

"High above the mists and confusion of this world shines the eternal Sun of justice and truth; and no matter what may happen to me, full of confidence in Him who has numbered the hairs of our heads, I will endure the worst rather than be faithless to my beloved diocese, and to the Holy Roman Catholic Church. My youth and my manhood have belonged to the Catholic Church; I will hold fast to her in my old age, as long as God grants me life. I will sacrifice all for her even to the last drop of my blood.

"CONRAD MARTIN,
"Bishop of Paderborn."

It was no wonder that, encouraged by such noble sentiments as those contained in the foregoing, the people remained firm in their allegiance to their spiritual rulers. But their firmness and triumph were not always unattended by disagreeable circumstances. This was very painfully the case at the city of Treves on the occasion of the arrest of Father Schneider. The time chosen for the execution of the government orders was, indeed, a very inopportune one; it was while he was celebrating the divine mysteries. The church was crowded at the moment. Seeing the gendarmes making their way through the midst of the worshippers in the direction of the altar, the people became intensly excited, and the cry of "turn them out," was raised by the multitude. The officers of the law still continuing to advance, a rush was made by the people towards the officiating clergyman, with the view of preventing the officers from entering the sanctuary. In the effort and struggle that ensued, the rails were torn away and smashed into pieces, while with the threats, noise, and weeping, the sacred edifice was turned into a babel of confusion. It was when matters had assumed this formidable character that one of the crowd dealt the

leader of the gendarmes a blow, which only added to the trouble of the situation, for that officer drawing his sword freely used it on his opponents so that the very sanctuary and altar were sprinkled with the blood of the victims. Meantime, the divine sacrifice was being hurried to a close, when the priest intrusted himself to the charge of the authorities and was borne away to a prison cell, amid the anger and indignity of the outraged people.

A hardly less painful scene was witnessed at Neisse on the 14th of November, when on the occasion of the Catholic church of that place being handed over to the "Old Catholic" heretics, the sacred ornaments were removed by the Catholics, the altars laid bare, and the sacred edifice abandoned!

However tyrannical and oppressive on the part of government was the confiscation of church edifices and the imprisonment of priests and bishops, they were hardly as discreditable and unworthy as the prohibition to government officials to read Catholic literature. Only that the following circular is an evidence of the fact and speaks for itself, one would be slow to give credence to the reality of so unworthy an order:

"To the schoolmasters of the Rhine Provinces:—According to an order of the Landrath, I am to inform you that we cannot approve of persons in your position reading newspapers opposed to the government. And I am required to exercise a strict control over you in this respect. Should I be obliged to report you, you will have brought the consequences upon yourself."

CHAPTER XV.

THE ENEMIES OF RELIGION BEGINNING TO SEE THAT THE CHURCH CANNOT BE CONQUERED—HOW THE PEOPLE WHO WERE DEPRIVED OF THEIR PASTORS STILL WORSHIPPED—DIFFICULTY IN PREPARING PRIESTS FOR THE MINISTRY—BISHOP CONRAD MARTIN DEPOSED—HE IS INTERNED BY GOVERNMENT—EVIL EFFECTS OF THE PERSECUTION—DECAY OF LEARNING—GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO STARVE THE CLERGY INTO SUBMISSION—PIUS IX. ENCOURAGES THE CATHOLICS TO CONSTANCY—THE AMOUNT RECEIVED BY THE CHURCH—ATTEMPT TO RUIN THE CATHOLIC JOURNALS—THE CATHOLICS DEPRIVED OF THE LAST RITES OF RELIGION—THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF THE REALM ABROGATED IN ORDER TO PERSECUTE THE CATHOLICS—EXPRESSION OF ATTACHMENT BY THE CATHOLICS OF THE DIOCESE OF PADERBORN TO THEIR BISHOP—A BILL PASSED FOR THE ABOLITION OF ALL CONVENTS—THE PEOPLE REJECT THE GOVERNMENT CLERGY—NUMBERS OF RELIGIOUS EXPELLED—INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF CATHOLIC JOURNALS FROM 1860 TO 1875—UNION NEEDED AMONG THE CATHOLICS—SOCIETIES FORMED TO THAT END—VAST AMOUNT OF FINES IMPOSED UPON THE CLERGY.

The year 1875 will be ever remembered in the local history of Germany as another year of great suffering and trial for the Catholics of that country. So far from abating, the persecution became more and more oppressive. It was a contest of determination on both sides. On the one hand, the Catholics led by their faithful priests and bishops were resolved never to compromise their religious convictions by assenting to the newly-formed code; while the prime mover and leader of the warfare on the other hand, was equally as determined that they should conform to the will of the state. It was then a question of endurance for the one, and of blind, relentless hate for the other. The experience of the three preceding years might have taught the enemies of religion how the contest would eventually

end; but pride does not like to acknowledge defeat nor did the victor of Sedan like to acknowledge himself beaten by an unarmed host. That he was, however, likely to be conquered, was seen and acknowledged even at that date by his friends and admirers. In an article which then appeared in the liberal journal the "Grenz-boten," under the heading "Who will conquer—Rome or Liberalism?" the answer was returned—"Rome will and must be victorious." The same was admitted by the Social Democratic journal, the "Volkstaat," of Leipsic, which said: "The crusade in favor of civilization is producing two effects, which those who take the lead in its ranks did not foresee. On the one hand it is strengthening Catholicism in a degree that is almost alarming; on the other hand it is weakening Protestantism and in fact is rapidly disolving it." In proof of this the writer referred to the diminution in the ranks of the aspirants to the Protestant ministry; while on the other hand, in the face of the bitter opposition and persecution of government, the aspirants to the ecclesiastical state in the Catholic Church were steadily and rapidly on the increase, which of itself was an evidence how weak and ineffective was physical violence for destroying the faith of the Catholics. The defeat thus foreseen and acknowledged by the more reflective of the Liberal party, was not indeed in consequence of any lack of vigorous proceedings in the application of the newly-framed code, for up to the beginning of 1875, no less than five bishops had been imprisoned,* and six fined, while of their priests about 1,400 were fined or imprisoned, one hundred or there-about having been driven out of the country and forbidden to re-enter their native land!

* These were the archbishops of Posen and Cologne, with the bishops of Treves, the coadjutor bishop of Posen and the bishop of Paderborn. The bishops fined were those of Munster, Hildersheim, Breslau, Culm, Ermeland, and Limburg. In a word all the bishops of the country except the bishop of Osnabruck, were either imprisoned or fined.

The removal or incarceration of the faithful priests for not complying with the iniquitous demands of their tyrannical masters by no means prevented the people from worshipping their God and attending as far as was in their power to all the duties of religion. As usual they assembled regularly in their parish churches even in greater numbers than before, and performed such devotions as were appropriate to so trying a season of grief and suffering. In like manner in the burying of the dead, they formed into regular procession headed by the symbol of salvation and chanted on the way to the grave the customary hymns and prayers. Thus the people contrary to the opinions entertained by their oppressors, held together and even increased in fervor and attachment to holy Church. As an evidence of the increasing interest taken by them in the matters of faith, may be instanced the increase in the collections for missionary purposes. In the single town of Munster-Gladback, the contribution in behalf of the Missionary Society entitled the "Childhood of Jesus," was in 1873 only 300 marks, whereas in 1874 it was 1,971 or over six per cent additional.

The greatest difficulty the Church encountered at this juncture was the proper training of the youthful aspirants to her holy ministry. Of those already at the altar she was not in any fear: they had shown the sentiments with which they were animated and how they were to be relied upon. Their previous sufferings and endurance were a pledge of their future constancy. It was different, however, with the youthful Levites; they had to be properly trained and carefully taught if the Church was to benefit by their holy ministrations. This the enemies of religion were thoroughly aware of and hence the efforts they made to control the teaching of the ecclesiastical youth. At Fulda in Hesse Cassel the seminary was closed because

the professors refused to be placed under government supervision, while more tyrannical still, when the professors of the ecclesiastical seminary of Frier, after the dissolution of that establishment by government, continued to instruct their pupils in private, they were notified that such a proceeding was illegal and that a continuance of the same would subject them to a penalty of 100 thalers, or $75!

Hitherto the authorities proceeded only to the length of fining and imprisoning the refractory ecclesiastics. This not answering the purpose for which it was intended, a weightier measure was now had recourse to. On the 13th of January, a day that will ever be notable in the ecclesiastical annals of the diocese of Paderborn, a decree of deposition pronounced by the "Royal Tribunal for Ecclesiastical Affairs" was served on Bishop Conrad Martin in his prison cell. The undaunted confessor firmly refused to accept the iniquitous document, ignoring entirely the validity of its contents. The next day a similar attempt was made to place the act of deposition in the venerable prelate's hands, but with no better result. The document was then nailed to the inside of his cell door and thus the farce of deposing a Catholic bishop was supposed to be completed. Four days later the term of Bishop Martin's six months imprisonment for refusing to conform to the May laws was to draw to a close; but an additional sentence of other two months imprisonment was now against him for a pastoral letter addressed by him to his flock, while inhibited from ecclesiastical functions by his civil superiors. It was, however, intimated to him that his detention in prison depended entirely upon himself. If he promised not to return to his dwelling, to take up his abode outside of the city, and subsequently to repair voluntarily to the place indicated by government for the completion of his additional period of imprisonment, he might then at the date to which

I refer, readily obtain his release. To such unworthy and humiliating proposals the admirable confessor answered in a manner worthy of one whose honor and conscience were the guides of his conduct. He could not by any compliance with the persecutors' demands acknowledge either directly or otherwise his culpability before God. He was, accordingly, ordered to be removed from his prison at Paderborn, to be interned in the district of Wesel. On the morning of the 19th of January this order was put into effect. As far as the bishop was concerned, his removal was a perfect ovation and an absolute triumph. Thousands of the people assembled on the occasion in the vicinity of the gaol, at the railway station, and all along the route. The street leading from the prison to the depot whence the venerable captive was to take his departure, had been adorned with flags and banners as if the day had been one of triumph and victory, as it really was. While again the *vivas* that rent the air and filled the indifferent with emotion, as the thousands of faithful Catholics crowded around the bishop's carriage as he emerged from his prison and was conducted to the station, plainly told on which side was virtue and triumph. It is thus the faithful soldier of Christ ever receives his reward. Even in this life he is oftentimes amply and abundantly recompensed for his fidelity to conscience by the praises and approbation he receives from the virtuous of the world.

The evil effects of the persecuting course adopted by government was felt in more ways than one. Not only the Catholics but the entire country at large became a victim thereto. This was very clearly evinced in the general decay of learning in the highest departments of instruction. In fact, in proportion as the persecution became more and more violent, the desire for instruction in proportion declined. At the opening of the "Kulter Kampf" there were in the

German empire twenty-one universities numbering several thousand alumni. One year, however, had not passed till they felt the withering blight of the intolerance of the state. "The Berlin University," said Professor von Treitschke in 1872, "has gone down very much through the fault both of the Minister and of the professional body." Nor did it cease to be still more affected, for at that date it had 2,600 matriculated students, while in 1874 it had only 1,600, or one thousand less. A somewhat similar decrease was to be observed in the other great centres of learning, as for example at Leipsic, where the number of divinity students fell from 420 to 380. This decrease in the number of pupils and the evident want of confidence of the Christian people of the empire, was readily to be accounted for by the introduction into those seats of learning of so many anti-Christian teachers, there being at the time of which I speak, 1875, in the single university of Breslau as many as three and twenty Jewish teachers! Up to the date of the new regime, the Christian character of the teacher was a *sine qua non* for his appointment, but in 1874, the Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. Falk, abrogated that section of the charter, and hence the anomaly of seeing Jewish professors appointed to the chairs of Christian history!

Meantime, the active and open war against the Church continued in all its vigor. Finding that neither fines nor imprisonment could conquer the faithful clergy, it was proposed to attack them with a different and, it was hoped, a more powerful weapon—namely, starvation. Accordingly on the 4th of March, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives at Berlin calling for the cessation of all state aid to the Catholic clergy until they would formally subscribe to the obnoxious laws. Foreseeing the turn that things were likely to take upon the passage of this measure and how the Catholics would certainly come to the aid of

their faithful clergy, an amendment was proposed to the original project prohibiting the faithful from supplying by voluntary contribution the wants of their priests! Thus the denial of state aid and the absence of voluntary contributions, or, in plainer terms, starvation, was to do what fines, imprisonments, and expatriation had failed to accomplish. But the authors of these measures mistook their victims and were wholly unaware of the power of conscience and the charity that is enlivened by faith.

According to the new enactment, every vicar, priest, or teacher who refused to subscribe to all the decrees of the government, no matter what they may be, was to be sent adrift on society and prevented even receiving the alms of the charitable! The manner in which a parliamentary majority was obtained for passing this iniquitous measure was as discreditable to government as the measure was unworthy of that body. It was by forcing, under penalty of dismissal from office, all the government employees to vote for the election of those known to be in the interest of the state.* To encourage the faithful Catholics to constancy in this hour of trial and suffering, the sovereign pontiff addressed the following letter to the bishops of Germany:

"Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction—

"The admirable constancy which fears neither the rage nor the anger of the mighty, nor the threats nor the loss of property, nor even exile, imprisonment and death, in this struggle for the defense of both justice and ecclesiastical rights, distinguished the Church of Christ in the earliest centuries, and has always, consequently, been its badge of honor as a clear proof that true and noble liberty, the empty name of which indeed every-where re-

* See Tablet, March 20, 1875

sounds, but the reality of which is never displayed, dwells in it alone. This reputation of the Church, reverend Brethren, you have anew observed by undertaking to show the real meaning of the Vatican Council" etc.

The resolution of government in withholding from the clergy their annual stipend was not only a violation of the solemnly pledged faith of the country, but was in an addition an infraction of national justice; for the annual sum paid to the Church for purposes of religion was in lieu of that property of which the state had previously taken control. The entire annual sum amounted in the aggregate to 9,000,000 marks or about £135,000. This the faithful would find but little difficulty in supplementing by voluntary subscriptions, as it would be only a few pence a head from each, the entire Catholic population being in the region of nine millions. Hence the supplementary measure referred to above as necessary for attaining the object of government.

In keeping with the design of starving the clergy into submission, it next occurred to the powers that be to adopt similar treatment towards the Catholic journalists. In the latter case the withdrawal of government patronage was apparently likely to lead to more disastrous consequences still. It tended directly to the financial embarrassment and ruin of those papers. For, as in Prussia all public advertisements are regularly published in the local papers, so that every one holding a government employment is, in a measure, necessitated to subscribe for those papers, government came to the resolution of withholding its advertisements from the Catholic papers. At first a secret order or instruction to this effect was communicated to the heads of departments. But as time went on the baseness of the proceeding apparently lost the odiousness of its character in the eyes of its authors. Hence, towards the beginning

of March an official communication was addressed to all the employees under the jurisdiction of the governor of Treves, informing them of the intentions of government and that the insertion of advertisements in Catholic journals was not to be tolerated! And to avoid any doubt the names of the prohibited journals were given in detail!

Objectional as this proceeding of government was, it did not place the conduct of the authorities in so odious a light as that of depriving the Catholics of the last rites of religion which was virtually done in the dioceses of Gnesen and Posen, by prohibiting the holy oils being consecrated for the use of the faithful. The occupant of the see being in prison, Mgr. Cybichowski was invited by the chapter to officiate on the occasion, but this was regarded by government as an infraction of the law and that prelate was, accordingly, proceeded against and condemned to *nine* months imprisonment, while two of the clergy were fined twenty-five marks each for distributing the consecrated oils to the parochial clergy! At the same time that this was done, the instigator and promoter of the measure—Prince Bismark—had the boldness to assert that the Church was in no way interfered with or restricted in the discharge of her duty!

Although the interests and rights of the Catholics were thus ignored, it was at least a consolation to their feelings to know that the measures adopted against them were at the humiliating cost to the government of the abrogation of the constitutional law of the realm, the xvth, xvith and xviiith clauses of the constitution having been abolished for that purpose. How vexatious after all this to find that the Catholics were not to be brought to acknowledge the force of the new regime. And this was practically acknowledged by their oppressors, when in April 1875 Prince Bismark addressed a confidential communi-

cation to all the governments of Europe, to the effect that the only effectual way of dealing with the concentrated might of the hierarchy, was by the action of all the states in common. To his chagrin the Minister found that even by those powers from whom circumstances might lead him to expect more, his proposal was but coldly received.

The reader has been informed in a preceding page how the bishop of Paderborn, Dr. Conrad Martin, was deposed from his see by government authority and prevented from residing within the limits of his diocese. The next to experience a like severity at the hands of the authorities was Mgr. Förster, the prince-bishop of Breslau. The crime in this case was that of his vicar-general having published the sovereign pontiff's encyclical. For this grave offense the bishop was called upon to resign his diocese!

How utterly futile it was for the secular authority to attempt to convince its subjects of being able to deprive a Catholic bishop of his episcopal jurisdiction, was seen by the expression of loyalty tendered to those prelates by their Catholic people, when an occasion offered for expressing such sentiments. This was very plainly proved in the case of the bishop of Paderborn, who, upon his release from imprisonment, was presented with the following short but expressive address by eighty-eight thousand of his people:

"Most Reverend Bishop! Most gracious lord, through the mercy of God and the favor of the Apostolic See *you are* our bishop and *will continue to be* our bishop, until God and the Holy See will dissolve this bond, and the mutual duties which flow from it. We beg your blessing and your prayers, that we may be worthy to continue to be true members of the Roman Catholic Church which was founded by our Lord Jesus Christ."

Like sentiments of affectionate attachment were manifest-

ed towards the prince-bishop of Breslau who, as we have seen, was called upon by government to relinquish his see. Taking occasion of his fiftieth anniversary in the priesthood, the people availed themselves of that opportunity to express to him their faithful and undying attachment. As expressive of these feelings, numerous addresses and presents were made on the auspicious occasion, while on the day of the celebration the entire Catholic population with the clergy, a large number of the Silesian nobility, and the Knights of Malta, turned out and were present in the cathedral to do honor to their venerated chief. It is thus it always happens in the case of the faithful pastor and his flock. No amount of persecution and suffering can weaken the love of the people for their legitimate rulers. On the contrary, the greater the suffering, the greater the love on behalf of the people.

We have seen in a previous chapter how under the heading of "Orders kindred to the Jesuits" a bill was passed by the legislature suppressing a number of religious communities. Others, however, whose duties entitled them to more consideration at the hands of their enemies, were suffered to exist a little time longer; but these, too, were destined to perish in their turn. It was only a question of time. Neither the most inoffensive lives, the most exalted virtues, nor the greatest advantages rendered to suffering humanity, were sufficient to save them from the displeasure of the authorities. A measure was accordingly submitted to parliament in the beginning of April, for the abolition of the remainder of the convents existing in the country. The bill was to be put into effect within a period of six months, but not before two years for the teaching communities and those attending the sick. The liberality of the law-makers in thus extending the period of their departure in the case of the last-mentioned bodies was dictated by a

consciousness of the state's inability to provide for their absence within a less limited period. The bill received the emperor's signature with the modification of four instead of two years being the period fixed for the departure of the teaching communities; while in the case of the others they were to remain subject to the pleasure of the crown. On the 22nd of April the sequestration law withholding from the clergy their regular stipend, received the royal assent and was formally promulgated five days later. By this measure the means of livelihood was withdrawn at once from all the bishops and priests of theCatholic Church in the German empire until such time as, in violation of conscience, they would formally subscribe to the newly-made code. The main sections of this iniquitous measure were these: 1. In the archdioceses of Cologne and Gnesen and Posen, in the dioceses of Culm, Ermeland, Breslau, Hildesheim, Osnabruck, Paderborn, Munster, Treves, Fulda, Limburg (Nassau), and in the delegation districts of these dioceses, all payments out of state funds destined for the bishoprics, for the institutions belonging to them, and for the clergy, ceased from the date of the promulgation of this law. But the payments destined for the clergymen attached to public establishments, prisons, military chaplaincies, etc., were excepted from this regulation. Within the category of "state funds," were also included special funds subject to the administration of state. 2. Such stopped payments were to be again resumed within the area of a diocese as soon as the bishop, archbishop, or prince-bishop, or diocesan administrator for the time being should pledge himself to the government by a written declaration to observe the laws of the state. 3. In the archdiocese of Gnesen and Posen, and in the diocese of Paderborn, the resumption of the stopped payments within the respective areas was to take place as soon as the appointment of a diocesan

administrator or of a new bishop should have been made in a manner according to law.

The oppressive character of this iniquitous measure will be the better appreciated when the reader remembers the determination of government, as recorded above, of not permitting the faithful to contribute to the support of the discarded clergy. How this brutal and unfeeeling measure operated we will presently see. It was not indeed to be expected that amid such a number of clergy all would be faithful. The condition, however, of those who betrayed their conscience and yielded to the voice of the tempter was anything but pleasant or secure. The outraged feelings of the people offered no guarantee to the unfaithful pastor for the security his life. This was very plainly evinced in the case of the state-priest Golenbiewski at Plutinitz. On the day of his installation the people assembled in crowds in the church and prevented his entrance into the sacred edifice. Had they confined themselves to this, their conduct would have been worthy of admiration, but unhappily they did not. Fired by an imaginary zeal for the glory of God they fell upon the unfortunate man, beat him severely and drove him beyond the boundaries of the parish. This naturally led to an interference on the part of the government. A company of soldiers was despatched to the place to terrify the people into submission and thus under the protection of a number of gendarmes and a company of infantry with loaded muskets, the obnoxious priest was forced on the Catholics of the parish as their legitimate pastor!

While government was thus outraging the most sacred instincts of Catholics, it had the temerity and folly to expect that the prayers of the faithful would be addressed to the throne of divine mercy in behalf of the emperor in preference to the sovereign pontiff, an action being taken

in court against the administrator of Lewitz, for having publicly prayed for the Church, the pope and the archbishop in the first place and the emperor and royal family in the next! An additional charge was that he had prayed with the congregation for their incarcerated archbishop!

The hostility of government to everything Catholic showed itself in another manner equally offensive to the Catholics at this date. That was in the prohibition, in several localities, of jubilee processions in honor of the most adorable sacrament. Why an exception should be made in favor of any of the districts, it might be difficult to imagine, but government was doubtless aware of the reasons. In Ratisbon, shortly prior to the day fixed for the celebration, a prohibitory order was posted, on the part of the authorities, at all the churches forbidding the arranged procession. The grief and disappointment of the people at thus being interfered with in the most harmless and inoffensive of duties, could be hardly imagined. In some instances, as at Asmanshausen in Westphalia, they indeed evaded the law, and carried out in some measure the programme determined on. This they effected by assembling in numbers, on the occasion, in the streets which were decorated with branches and flowers, and giving expression to their feelings of devotion in hymns and canticles of praise. It was, indeed, a simple but most touching scene, but as no officiating priest was present, and the blessed sacrament, consequently, was not carried in procession, the celebration did not fall under the provisions of the law, and government was thus defeated by this simple artifice of a faithful people. In other localities, as at Coblentz and Fulda, where the processions were not forbidden, the Catholics testified by their numbers and devotional behavior, the desire of repairing as far as was

in their power the outrage offered to the feelings of their brethren in the prohibited districts. Thus government, at every turn and in almost every instance, received either directly or indirectly, a defeat at the hands of its victims. The inability of government, too, to provide for the vacant parishes, was another defeat which had not been contemplated. And this was the more signal considering the efforts that had been made to procure recreant clergy. But though as high as two and three thousand thalers a year, that is from £300 to £450, were offered, only two such hireling priests could be obtained in the whole of the large archdiocese of Gnesen and Posen. Such noble fidelity and contempt for the bribe of the tempter will ever be recorded to the honor of the clergy of that diocese. The abolition of the famous press bureau at this date, was an additional evidence of the inability of government to accomplish its ends by the means it employed. Even the very Protestant clergy became ashamed and humiliated at the treatment extended to Catholics, and hence, in a conference of Lutheran pastors held at Wittenberg in the month of May, a remonstrance was agreed upon advising a milder course to be adopted towards the Catholic clergy. How little attention was paid to this humane demand, may be inferred from the fact that at that time the law spoken of above, for the suppression of the remaining religious communities, had received the assent of the parliament and was being every-where carried out to the letter, On the 31st of May the royal signature was put to the bill, and then was witnessed a scene which the country will not readily forget, and which none but a tyrant could approve. Expelled from the homes where they had consecrated the best energies of their lives to the interests of their fellowmen, numbers of venerable priests and holy religious, Franciscans, Benedictines, Carmelites, etc., were now forced in obedience

to this iniquitous injunction, to fly the land of their birth and to seek a shelter in foreign countries at the hands of strangers, and this for no other reason than because of their being Catholics and faithful to conscience. The sorrow and emotion of the people on parting with these their beloved benefactors, was touching and affecting in the extreme. Aware of the affectionate regard in which they were held by the people at large, these faithful servants of God desired to retire as privately and unostentatiously as possible, in order to avoid exciting commotion and disturbing the tranquillity of the community. Thus from Dusseldorf, the Franciscans resolved upon departing by night. They were seventy-seven in number, some of them bearing on their breasts, as an evidence of their patriotic devotion to their native land, the decoration of the order of the Iron Cross. The hour of their departure becoming known, thousands of the people assembled in the vicinity of the convent and on the quays, to testify by their presence the love and affection they bore these religious. Upon the appearance of the fathers a hymn was intoned and joined in by thousands of voices, producing on the multitude present the most marvellous and soul-stirring effect. Thus amid the liveliest and warmest expressions of love and attachment, these venerable men, many of whom had grown gray in the service of their country and of their brethren, were driven by virtue of an iniquitous legislation to seek shelter at the hands of strangers.

The expectations entertained by government as to the results that would accrue from the sequestration, or as it was popularly denominated, the "bread-basket" or "starvation" law, were great. Time, however, proved how illusory were these hopes. A month or six weeks passed and there were only five who sacrificed their conscience for their needs, three in the diocese of Hildersheim, one in Treves, and one

in Fulda. This was no triumph for government; it was a defeat. It suffered a more signal defeat if possible, in the attempt to destroy, by a like process, the Catholic press. For though all official advertisements were withheld from these journals, they increased in a most wonderful manner, from 13, the number in 1860, to 300 in 1875.*

The determination thus shown by the Catholics to defend their rights, under the most adverse circumstances did not, however, prevent the government from continuing its illiberal and obnoxious proceedings. This was to be seen in the continued application of the law for the dissolution of religious communities as well as in the prohibition of affectionate marks of esteem by the Catholic community for their venerable prelates. As evidence of the former the banishment of the Sisters of Mercy from Trebnitz, was an instance, while as regarded the latter, the disposition of the authorities was clearly evinced in the prohibition of a torch-light procession in honor of the illustrious confessor of the faith, Paul Melchers, Archbishop of Cologne.† But the prohibition of the procession was not a smothering of the affection of the people for their beloved archbishop: on the contrary it served only to awaken a deeper enthusiasm, and, accordingly, as the archbishop was leaving the cathedral he was greeted by thousands of persons whose demonstrations of filial affection were as expressive and dear to the prelate as if his well-wishers had walked in procession with torch in hand. Already three bishops were deposed from their sees by government, namely the archbishop of Gnesen and Posen and the bishops of Paderborn and Breslau. A fourth was now to be added in the person of Dr. Brinkman of Münster, against whom judicial proceedings were begun in July.

In the spring of the year 1874, a bill was passed by the

* Tablet, June 26, 1875 † Ibid, July 10, 1875.

legislature, taking the administration of the Church property out of the hands of the clergy and vesting it in committees appointed respectively by the bishops, the parishioners and the government. Against that the bishops protested at the time, as being a violation of the rights guaranteed to the Church by the constitution. No notice, however, was taken of the remonstrance and government proceeded to the enforcement of the measure. The measure, it is true, though a dangerous and aggressive one, was not exactly a violation of the principles of Catholic faith or discipline, and hence in order, as far as was possible, to comply with the will of the authorities and to retain even in part their hold on the temporalities of the Church, some of the bishops signified their readiness to comply with the law.

Another step of a more serious and embarrassing character was taken at this date by the government against the organizations of the Church and the due administration of its ordinances. That consisted of a judgment delivered by the supreme tribunal of Berlin to the effect that none but the legally recognized bishops should be capable of episcopal functions within their respective dioceses. The object aimed at by the state was the prevention of the provisional government of the diocese, when the bishops had been formally deposed. For in the absence of these prelates the episcopal functions necessary for the government of those territories, were performed by proxy. But in face of the recent decision, no coadjutor or neighboring prelate could perform in the diocese in question any episcopal rite or function. Hence the consecration of the oils, requisite for the administration of the sacraments of baptism and confirmation, were thereby rendered impossible.

These and such like grave encroachments on the rights and privileges of the Church, though unjustifiable and

reprehensible in the highest degree, hardly place the government in so disagreeable a light as its ungenerous and uncharitable treatment of its victims. As an instance, on the 14th of July, Dr. Conrad Martin finished his second term of imprisonment in the fortress of Wesel, where he was confined after having been formally deposed, The confinement had so impaired his health that upon his release he found it necessary to retire to a more salubrious locality. He, accordingly, made application to government, but was assured that until he produced the necessary vouchers from the state medical physician, neither his own assurances nor those of his own physican could be regarded of any avail and his case, accordingly, could not be attended to. The certificate was, accordingly, obtained from the state medical officer who even declared on oath that the bishop's departure from Wesel was a matter of urgent necessity. *Three weeks*, however, elapsed after that and yet no answer was vouchsafed. It was then that the bishop taking the matter into his own hands quitted the locality. Thus at every step and in almost every particular, government showed its hostility and betrayed its inhumanity in dealing with the victims of its displeasure. Meanwhile, the work of suppression went vigorously on, the same touching scenes being every-where repeated upon the departure of the religious. But what was probably more affecting still was the attachment displayed by the people for their indigent pastors, in providing for all their necessities after being deprived by the government of their regular stipends. As, however, it was prohibited by government to contribute directly to the support of the clergy, a means had to be adopted whereby the indigent priests could be relieved, without at the same time exposing their benefactors to the penalty of fine or imprisonment. The manner adopted in one instance was novel and effective. At the

time of the offertory, by reason of a preconcerted arrangement, a movement was noticed in the church. Falling into regular line, the men first and the women afterwards proceeded in regular file and deposited each in turn upon the altar an offering which as a matter of course was understood to be intended for the clergy. At Treves, the matter was done in a bolder and more systematic manner; different parties undertaking to supply different articles—one meat, another bread, a third meal, and so of the rest, the bill for these articles being sent to the donors and duly acknowledged. Thus the cruel and inhuman provisions of the "breadbasket law" were partially rendered inoperative and the contemplated victims saved from starvation.

We have seen how the bishop of Paderborn, Dr. Conrad Martin, on account of the state of his health, his life being imperiled, quitted the locality in which he was interned by government. For this and for having attempted to exercise episcopal jurisdiction he was visited with the displeasure of the Minister of Worship by being deprived of his rights as a citizen. It is not difficult to conceive the deplorable state to which matters were brought under such a regime. In fact the days of the primitive Christians had to a certain extent been revived. The clergy were banished, the Churches were closed; the dying deprived of the last rites of religion; and the dead consigned to the grave without the solemnities of the ritual! In the diocese of Posen up to the month of September 1875, as many as four hundred priests were subjected to various fines, about one hundred sent to prison while several were banished from the country. "There is not a parochial residence," said a writer in the "Germania" of that date, "in the two dioceses from which *every article* of furniture has not been carried off under legal process, and if anything is to be found it is sure to be the property of some private

person." For two years and upwards the cardinal-archbishop was detained in prison and his revenues confiscated.* The same happened to his vicars-general; they were cast into prison from the effects of which one lost his life. The two assistant bishops were banished, the one for having administered confirmation and the other for having blessed the holy oils; while the successor of one of the imprisoned vicars-general also shared the same fate, having been incarcerated for a period of nine months.

In the face of these violent proceedings it was plain to the Catholics that union was needed. All their hopes of success in resisting such tyrannical measures rested in a great measure on the spirit of fraternal affection maintained among the general body. To this end societies were largely established, and of these a general congress was annually held by a delegated number. Of that class was the general congress of Catholics held at Freiburg in Baden in the month of Sept. 1875. At that meeting a brief of the sovereign pontiff was read. The encouraging words contained in it were not unneeded both for priests and people. So bitter was the contest becoming, that nothing short of the blood of the victims was wanted to carry the tyranny to the utmost extreme. About the date at which the congress referred to assembled, the prince-bishop of Breslau was fined in the sum of 2,000 marks or 133 days imprisonment, for having warned an intruding priest of the ecclesiastical penalities incurred by him. The "bread-basket law" received too, at this date, a stricter application than had been contemplated. That consisted in the expulsion of the priests from their parochial residences, official intimation of this having been communicated by government to its subordinates on the 1st of October. No one could be astonished that a government capable of

* Tablet, September 11th, 1875.

such heartless inhumanity in turning out of their homes and casting adrift on the world those venerable ministers of religion, whose lives were spent in the sanctuary for the good of the people, should so utterly forget the dignity and honor due to its character as to shamefully debase itself by squandering hundreds of thousands of marks annually in subsidizing against the Catholic cause an unprincipled press, 100,000 marks being annually spent for this purpose. It was not difficult for the government to supply such a considerable sum for the fines imposed upon the clergy were more than would be needed for that object, as much as 80,925 marks having been imposed in fines on the priests of Treves up to Sept. '75.

A novel and painful instance of the hostility of government to everything Catholic was now furnished. On the occasion of the celebration of his jubilee by the bishop of Munster, the magistrates of that place signed an address of congratulation to his lordship. But in this they were imperiling their official position and their personal liberty, for government highly disapproved of their course and censured their acts. Equally in keeping with this was the action of the authorities in imposing a fine on a schoolmaster and some pupils, for having accompanied a priest while bearing the most adorable Eucharist to a dying person.* But stronger and more intolerant still was the conduct of the authorities in imprisoning for a period of 90 days a Capuchine Father of Neuwied for having refused absolution to the burgomaster of the place. And as if to place itself in a still more unenviable position before the community, government resolved upon proceeding judicially against the editor of the Catholic journal, "Oberschlesische Anzeiger," for an article on the Sacred Heart of Jesus!

Up to this date the anti-Catholic legislation of Prussia

* Tablet, Sept. 25, '75.

was not applied to the kingdom of Bavaria. Now, however, a well-grounded fear existing that it would, the Bavarian Catholics alive to the gravity of the situation, in a general congress held for the purpose of giving expression to Catholic opinion, addressed a petition to his Majesty on the subject. But like all other remonstrances addressed by the Catholics to the governing powers, it received no attention.

An injustice somewhat similar in character to the famous confessional case referred to above, in which a Capuchin Father was made to be the victim for having faithfully discharged his duty as confesssor, was now perpetrated by government in the instance of some clergy of Treves. The church of St. Matthias in that city has been from time immemorial regarded by the faithful with the highest and holiest feelings of reverence and devotion. Thither at the holy season of Pentecost thousands of pilgrims are annually accustomed to flock. To provide effectively for the spiritual wants of these and thus afford them an opportunity of approaching the sacraments, additional clergy have to be engaged. This was only continuing the established usage; but for this unauthorized exercise of ecclesiastical functions, prosecutions were instituted by government against the volunteer clergy. An equally offensive and tyrannical proceeding of government was that of forcing the clergy to serve in the army, several up to that date both in the diocese of Coblentz and Treves having had to join the military service.

On the 5th of November, Dr. Forster was notified by government of his deposition as bishop of the see of Breslau. Four days later an order was sent to the chapter requiring it to elect an administrator. It did so on the grounds of the *sedes impedita*. But the Holy See absolutely refused to recognize the act.

The attempt on the part of the government to depose

the Catholic bishops because of their inability to comply with the laws requiring their observance, was an act that was mistaken by none. No one, not even the chief actors themselves, believed in the validity of the judgment. But what was to be expected from a power that in contravention of the solemnly pledged faith of the nation, would openly break its agreement with the sovereign pontiff, by requiring its Catholic subjects, contrary to the provisions in the Concordat of 1820, to labor on festival days. The unfairness of this was equalled only by the inconsistency of government in banishing Catholic religious, while Protestant deaconesses were allowed to remain. It could also be readily interpreted by the light of the intolerance of government in fining and imprisoning those of the Catholic clergy who refused to administer the sacrament of penance to those who were not duly disposed. Of this class, up to the end of 1875, there were three, Father Gabriel of Ehrenitstein, Father Richter of Ebersdorf, and Father Nietsch of Katscher. In keeping with this was the prosecution of a newly-ordained priest for celebrating his first mass in the presence of a few friends, whilst the priest who assisted him was also prosecuted and fined as guilty of a violation of the May laws. Not less intolerant was the prohibition by government, of all private places of education, except such as were approved by government. Under this heading were included even orphan institutions, the association of "The Poor Child, Jesus" at Neuss being ordered to be closed by the 1st of April, though this institution relieved the town of the burthen of numberless orphans, maintaining, at the same time, six elementary schools, besides a seventh of a higher grade for girls.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTOLERANCE OF GOVERNMENT IN OBLIGING CATHOLIC CHILDREN TO RECEIVE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION FROM HERETICS—THE OLD CATHOLICS CLAIM THE JOINT USE OF THE CHURCHES—CONDITION OF THE CLERGY AT THAT DATE—LETTER OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—A GRAND CATHOLIC SOCIETY ESTABLISHED—ATTEMPT TO MUZZLE THE CLERGY—BISHOPS CONTINUE TO BE DEPOSED—EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS THE EXPRESSION OF ALL CATHOLIC SENTIMENT—THE NUMBER OF PRIESTS THROWN INTO A STATE BORDERING ON STARVATION BY REASON OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE STATE AID—THE CATHOLICS DEPRIVED OF THEIR CHURCHES, WHICH ARE HANDED OVER TO HERETICS—THE CATHOLICS PREVENTED BUILDING OTHERS FOR THEIR OWN USE—MONSEIGNEUR KETTLER DRAGGED BEFORE A CRIMINAL COURT—DEVOTION OF THE PEOPLE FOR RELIGION—SUPPRESSION OF PILGRIMAGES—THE SPIRIT OF THE OLD CATHOLICS—NUMBERS OF PARISHES VACANT—ALL THE BISHOPS BUT ONE GOT RID OF—FAILURE OF ALL THESE MEASURES TO DESTROY THE FAITH.

The year 1876 will ever be remembered in Germany as another period of intolerable persecution and suffering for the faithful Catholics of that land. As yet no relaxation in the application of the iniquitous legislation was in the smallest degree shown: the contest, if anything, had only grown stronger and fiercer. The same intolerant proceeding, fining and imprisoning the clergy, suppressing the religious establishments, and dispersing the inmates, continued in this as in the preceding years.

We have seen how Dr. Conrad Martin, the deposed bishop of Paderborn, was obliged for grave sanitary reasons to quit the district where he was interned. For this and for having violated the May laws, by the appointment of clergy to benefices without the sanction of government, a warrant was now issued by the District Court of Paderborn

for his arrest, empowering any one who might happen to meet him to have him apprehended and cast into the nearest prison. The arrogant, supercilious style of the document gave the highest offense to the Catholics. The feelings of the Catholics were wounded by government in an equally severe manner by another proceeding of a like offensive nature at that date. A schoolmaster, who openly avowed his adherence to the "Old Catholic" party and who had under his care 400 Catholic children, was supported in his position by the authorities against the earnest remonstrances of the parents. The position taken by government was that until the teacher had formally joined an "Old Catholic" congregation, the children could not be dispensed from receiving religious instruction at his hands; but as there was not in the entire province any such body, the action of the authorities was equivalent to forcing a heretical teacher upon Catholic parents. In a like spirit of unfairness and tyranny government continued to pay a monthly salary of 150 marks to the schismatically-intruded priest, Golenbiewski, though the people firmly and persistently refused to avail themselves of his ministry. Nor was the intolerant spirit of the authorities less palpable and offensive in the case of the bishop of Hildersheim who was condemned by the governor-general of Hanover, Count Eulenburg, to a fine of 6,000 marks for not having filled up the vacant parishes of Goslar and Great Dungen in his diocese. A much further delay, he was also assured by the same authority, would subject him to a like fine of an additional 6,000 marks. So apparently admirable a disposition on the part of the authorities in seeking to provide for the spiritual wants of the people, one would suppose, would lead them to sympathize with the flocks which had been deprived of their pastors. But such was not the motive influencing the minds of the rulers, as was clear from the course adopted by them in regard to

the people when deprived of their clergy. For a considerable time it had been the custom for the people where deprived of their priests, to assemble on Sundays and holidays in their respective churches, and, after hymns and prayers said in common, to have the Gospel of the day read by some member of the congregation. Even this poor substitute for the celebration of the divine mysteries earned the displeasure of government, and caused the authorities to enter a criminal process against a member of the congregation at Odersch in Silesia, who acted in this capacity. Nor did the authorities fail in obtaining a verdict, for the victim of this tyranny was condemned and fined 156 marks for reading the Gospel to the people! Somewhat later on, the same Catholic gentleman was even prohibited reciting the office of the dead according to the Catholic ritual over the grave of his departed child! After such high-handed, intolerant proceedings, it could not be a matter of surprise that the government authorities would entertain any proposal and support any pretension, however ignoble and illegal, provided the interests of the Catholics were to suffer thereby. This was very clearly demonstrated in the case of the "Old Catholic" heretics of Bonn, who, at this period, had the effrontery to demand for their individual use one of the three principal churches of the place. To repel so unjust a demand a meeting attended by thousands of Catholics was held in Beethoven Hall and a petition, setting forth the exclusive right of Catholics to these edifices, was agreed upon to be presented to government. The attention that such a petition was likely to receive may be imagined from the course adopted by the government in regard to the Catholics of Hirschberg, in Silesia, at that time. According to the provisions of the law of the 4th of July, 1875, the new Catholic Board of that locality was called upon by the provincial government to admit to a footing of perfect equality, in the

use of the Catholic churches of the place, the "Old Catholic" sect. In other words, to share conjointly with heretics their ecclesiastical buildings. Declining to do so, the Catholics were notified that within fourteen days they would be required to hand over to those sectaries the beautiful church of St. Anne, with all its ecclesiastical furniture and ornaments, etc. Such was a specimen of the illiberal and tyrannical measures adopted by government against the Catholics of the empire. And yet in the face of these measures when the faithful were being deprived of their most sacred and cherished rights, that was the very moment chosen by the Almighty for granting the grace of conversion to several prominent Protestants. Of these may be mentioned Baron von Ducker, Ernest von Krane-Matena of the 4th Westphalian Cuirassiers, and Herr Forcade de Biaix, one of the judges of the Superior Tribunal of the province.

The condition of the Catholic Church of Germany at that date was distressing and gloomy. Several of the dioceses were deprived of their chief pastors; hundreds of pastors were fined, imprisoned or banished; the laity in numerous instances were unable to avail themselves of the ministrations of their priests, while the clergy themselves, numbering about 10,000, being deprived of their annual revenues, and none being permitted to relieve their necessities, were placed in danger of starving or apostatizing. The following communication then addressed by his grace the Duke of Norfolk to the leading journal in England will enable the reader to form a correct idea of the condition of the Germany clergy at that moment:

"Editor Times—Will you allow me to call attention to the present condition of the Catholic clergy in Germany? A committee consisting of Lord Petre, Lord Arundell of Wardour, and others has been engaged for some months in

making enquiries on the subject, and we are now in a position to state the following facts:—

"1. By the law of the 22nd of April last, an annual sum of between £135,000 and £150,000 has been withdrawn from the Catholic Church in Prussia.

"2. This sum, the due payment of which had been solemnly guaranteed by Concordats between the Prussian government and the Holy See, was by no means a state subsidy to the Catholic Church, but an allowance made in consideration of sequestrated ecclesiastical property of far greater annual value.

"3. The number of priests whose income is thus stopped either wholly or in part is about 10,000.

"4. The only terms on which the clergy are entitled under the law of the 22nd of April to claim the resumption of the payments thus stopped, are by entering into a written engagement with the government to 'obey the laws of the state,' among which are the 'Falk' laws.

"5. The Falk laws are simply incompatible with the practice of the Catholic religion, providing as they do, *inter alia*, that the education of the clergy shall be conducted in state universities in which anti-Christian principles are openly taught; that no disciplinary powers shall be exercised in Prussia by the pope; and that bishops may be deposed by the sentence of a purely civil court—the 'Royal Gerichtshof.' The clergy have, therefore, been called upon to choose between beggary and apostasy. They have chosen beggary.

"6. But this is not all. In many instances the exercise of purely spiritual functions has been punished as a criminal offense; the ordinary public worship of the Church, the administration of the sacraments, even the burial of the dead, have been treated as crimes. Six bishops and a very large number of priests have been deprived of their personal liberty; some are confined with and treated as

common criminals, and thousands of the faithful are without pastors and spiritual consolation.

"7. Nor is it possible for the Catholics of Prussia to do much for the support of the impoverished clergy, who as yet have not been thrown into prison. It was stated in a telegram which appeared in your columns on the 10th of May last, that 'orders had been sent to the district administrators, according to which collections made without the sanction of the governor of the province to compensate Catholic priests for the penalties inflicted upon them, constituted offenses punishable by law.' We are in possession of evidence that in many provinces the order is being enforced, and that in the poorer parishes—especially in rural ones—the clergy are suffering the greatest privations which their people are unable to relieve. A very high authority states, that in the dioceses of Treves, Hildersheim, Limburg, Fulda and Culm, it is utterly impossible for the faithful to support their priests, and any protest by the laity, through the public press or otherwise, against the policy of the government, is repressed by fine and imprisonment.

"In such circumstances it appears to us that an appeal may confidently be made on behalf of those sufferers for conscience sake. Acknowledged to be men of exemplary lives and entire devotion to the duties of their sacred calling —the only crime alleged against them being their refusal to submit to the dictation of the state in matters of religion —they are entitled, as it seems to us, to the respect, compassion, and active sympathy of all true Englishmen.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"NORFOLK, E. M.

"Norfolk House, James' Square, London, S. W."

The unhappy condition of affairs described in the foregoing, would lead one naturally to conclude that the

Church having then so much to contend with, little or no mental activity could be expected in any of the departments of literature. This, however, was not the case. In the very face of all the opposition they had to contend with, the Catholics of Germany, to their honor, founded at this date a grand Catholic literary society, styled the "Gorres Society," having for its object the awakening and promotion of Catholic scientific ideas. As means to this end, there was to be an annual gathering of the members, the publication and diffusion of such works as might be regarded as calculated to promote Catholic thought and Catholic interests, besides the aiding of libraries and Catholic periodicals. Independent of these there were committees for the advancement of philosophy, the natural sciences, history, and jurisprudence. The first meeting of this important society was held in the Gorres Building at Coblentz, where a vast number of persons were present, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. Strangely contrasting with this, was the apathy and indifference of Protestants for the advancement of their respective religious opinions, there being then at that date an absolute dearth of Protestant divinity students, some of the professors at Heidelberg not having even one, while in the whole Evangelical Church of Prussia, there were at that moment, 282 parochial livings vacant.

On the 3rd of February the term of imprisonment of the archbishop of Gnesen and Posen was ended. One year and nine months had elapsed since the prison doors had closed upon the venerable confessor of the faith. It was thought by his enemies that the confinement would break either his health or his courage; but they were wholly disappointed. God sustained him in his long and painful trial. The day previous to the prelate's liberation the neighborhood of his place of imprisonment was crowded with persons anxious to extend their sympathies to the

illustrious champion of the faith. But this was by no means agreeable to the authorities, and hence under the plea of preventing disturbance, but in reality of prohibiting an expression of sympathy, the hour fixed for the archbishop's release was changed from 6 to 4 A. M. He did not indeed obtain his liberty in the fullest sense. Prior to his release he was reminded that on the 14th of July '74 he had officially declared that he did not recognise the royal commissary appointed by government as administrator of the temporalities of the diocese. The governor of the district, accordingly, by virtue of the provisions of the law of the 4th of May '74, commanded the archbishop upon his release not to reside in the provinces of Posen and Silesia, otherwise he would be under the necessity of having him interned in the fortress of Torgau on the Elbe.

It was not enough for the government to fine and imprison the clergy and to prevent the faithful in general from contributing to the support of the faithful pastors; but it must needs muzzle the clergy in the pulpit and prevent them from expressing any dissatisfaction at the tyrannical proceedings enacted against them. Hence on the 10th of February a measure was adopted by the Reichstag, entitled the "pulpit paragraph" of the new criminal law, whereby any allusion from the pulpit, by pamphlet or writing, reflecting in any way disparagingly upon government was to be punished by imprisonment for a period of two years. The intolerance of this was excessive in the extreme. It meant nothing but the enforcement of the most absolute servitude, depriving men of the freedom of utterance by preventing them from raising their voices, either directly or indirectly, against the most shameful injustice. But one can hardly be surprised at any thing that government would do against the Catholic Church, remembering that up to that date in the diocese of Posen alone 99 parish

priests were fined, in the aggregate for not conforming to the behests of the state, 117,315 marks! or about $240 each!

By a provision of the law of the 4th of May '74, in case of the vacancy of a diocese upon the deposition of a bishop, the parishoners were empowered to elect their own pastors. How did this act? Did the people lend themselves to the propagation of schism? By no means; they preferred to remain deprived of the sacraments than to receive them from those holding their appointment only from the state. Hence in the whole of Silesia, up to the end of February, there were only five such cases. Both priests and people are equally deserving of credit for that, for even were the Catholics compliant enough to meet the wishes of government the clergy would not accept, Following the admirable example set them by their illustrious bishops the clergy as a body remained firm as a rock, repelling every advance of the government when what was demanded was contrary to conscience. The conduct of the parish priest of Gora in Posen is only an individual instance of what government was likely to effect with the general body. Being called upon while in prison to resign his parish he fearlessly answered: "Having been instituted by a duly appointed bishop of the holy Catholic Church, it is only a similar authority that can call upon me to surrender my spiritual functions." The refusal of the priest in this instance did not entail upon him any additional detention in prison, but if it did, his answer would have been the same. Under every circumstance the clergy were ready to perform their duty, even to repelling the publicly unworthy from the reception of the sacraments. An instance of this occurred on the 8th of March '75. On that date a certain teacher, who had signed the "state Catholics" address, presented himself for holy communion, but was refused. For this the clergyman was fined to the extent of 150 marks

or one month's imprisonment. Equally intolerant and contradictory of the rights of Catholics was the action of government in removing from his post of inspector of schools the parish priest of Szrodewo, for no other crime than having exhorted the Catholic children to go regularly to the sacraments!

On the 8th of March of the year 1876, another was added to the list of bishops already deposed by government. The victim in this instance was Dr. John Bernard Brinkman, bishop of Munster. The counts on which he was indicted took one hour and three quarters to read. They were divided under the following heads: "1 His participation in a collective remonstrance addressed by the German episcopate to the government. 2. His refusal to permit the government to regulate ecclesiastical education in his diocese. 3. His refusal to fill up clerical vacancies in accordance with the May laws. 4. His neglect to comply with this duty when notified of it. 5. His special instructions regarding Church property. 6. His constant endeavors to animate the clergy to an active resistance of the May laws." All the charges being duly established according to the opinion of his enemies the sentence was pronounced in the following language: "That the accused had so grossly violated his duties as a Church official by his whole conduct, as described in the act of accusation, that his continuance in his office would be very dangerous to the maintenance of public order and is quite inconsistent with it. It is, therefore, adjudged in the name of the king that he be dismissed from his office of bishop."

The editors of the Catholic journals were equally obnoxious to government for the aid they rendered to the Catholic cause, in maintaining the drooping spirits of the people and calling attention, whenever opportunity offered, to the terrible injustice of government.

For these and such like exertions they were, oftentimes, made the victims of their zeal, and either cast into prison or else heavily fined. In this war with the authorities, the "Germania" was particularly notable, no less than three of its editors having been imprisoned up to the beginning of 1876, one for fifteen months, another for four months, and a third for a period of six weeks; while a fourth to avoid an imprisonment of five years was necessitated to fly from the country. Tyrannical as were the efforts of government in thus attempting to smother and extinguish all expression of the needs and desires of an afflicted people they were by no means as entirely objectionable as the order issued at this date by the Minister of Worship, Dr. Falk, to the end that none but laymen and those appointed by government would be permitted to give religious instruction in schools, while in the churches nothing would be permitted except what was subject to government regulation both as to matter and manner! After this the suppression of the Polish language in an official capacity, though a violation of the treaty of Vienna in 1815, should not be a matter of surprise. Much less the fining of bishops for not filling up vacancies which, if done without violating their conscience, would subject them to fine and imprisonment. But what was to be expected from a country that was practically infidel? And that such was the condition to which the country was hastening, the fact that out of 9,270 births of children of Protestant parents in Berlin, only 5,734 were baptized in any Church, a fact which may be fairly regarded as an evidence of the irreligious state of the country, while again as indicating the same, of 3,490 civil marriages of Protestants there were only 692 who had recourse to a religious ceremony.

The withdrawal of the state aid threw, as we have seen, about 10,000 priests into a condition bordering on starvation.

In no other civilized country of the present day could such a measure be passed and applied. After this one would suppose nothing further could be done by the state, and yet the authorities did not stop even here. In the diocese of Ermeland, in Prussian Poland, there was an institution or asylum for aged, broken down clergy—men who had spent the best days of their lives in the sacred ministry and who now, at the close of their years, feeble and poor, were necessitated to retire to that sanctuary of repose. In favor of such venerable and devoted men, the commonest instinct of humanity would have dictated a course of generous treatment; it would have proclaimed against and denounced the injustice and barbarity of depriving these objects of charity of their means of support, and prevented them being cast unfeelingly on the cold charity of an unsympathizing public. But governments have no souls: the inmates of that asylum were Catholic priests and that was sufficient in the eyes of the authorities to have them deprived of their means of support. In effect the law of the 22nd of April 1875, was applied to their case; their revenues were sequestrated and they were cast forth, aged and feeble as they were, to find a means of existence at the hands of strangers as best they could!

We have seen in a former page that in the application of the law for the suppression of religious communities exceptions were made in favor of the teaching societies. The respite, however, in no instance was to exceed a period of four years. In fact the motive that prompted it was not, as the reader may imagine, any leniency on the part of the authorities, but the difficulty they were under of providing, at the moment, for the wants of the educational departments. The difficulty on this head no longer existing, an official despatch was issued on the 30th of March requiring the governors of provinces to notify the institutions in question

that the time for their suppression was at hand. In accordance with this resolution of government those institutions in whose favor a respite had been granted, were compelled to close their establishments and to dismiss their pupils, though the strongest remonstrances were addressed to the government in their favor. Thus at Essen a petition signed as well by Protestants as Catholics and Jews and addressed personally to the emperor, remained unattended to and the nuns of that place were necessitated to break up their establishment and to dismiss their pupils to the number of 300.

At the same time that the government was invading the right of religious communities to keep open their educational establishments, it was also wantonly and arrogantly depriving the Levites of the sanctuary of their ancient recognized and hereditary privileges. Hence the ignoble and impolitic determination of government to force divinity students to quit the quiet and retirement of the sanctuary and to serve as privates in the army. An order to this effect was sent to some of the divinity alumni of St. Peter's ecclesiastical seminary at Freiburg; but though a memorial was addressed to the authorities praying them for an exemption in this instance, the law was put into force and a number of *deacons* were enrolled in the regular army! Not less painful and offensive to Catholics was the order of the Minister of Worship at this date granting to the "Old Catholic" sect, the joint use of the Catholic Church of St. Boniface at Wiesbaden, which for 300 years had been the property of Catholics! It being then close upon Holy Week the faithful despatched a deputation to Berlin praying even a delay of proceedings and representing that in case of its being desecrated by the services of the "Old Catholic" party, it would be impossible for them to celebrate in it the divine mysteries. This petition like the others

received no attention, and only for the courtesy of the ex-Duke of Nassau, who placed his own chapel at the service of the Catholics, they would be without any place to offer the divine sacrifice.

At Konigsberg the same intolerant orders were carried into effect to the great grief and affliction of the Catholics of that locality. They were not unprepared, indeed, for the measure, but they had hoped like their brethren of Wiesbaden that Holy Week would be allowed to pass before the shameful proceeding would be enacted. In this, however, they were grievously mistaken. On Maundy-Thursday the officers of the law entered the sacred edifice and in the name of the state proceeded to make a division of the sacred vestments and church articles, assigning one half to the heretics and the other to the Catholics. In vain did the priest in charge protest; it was the orders of government and had to be obeyed. Seeing the inutility of resistance the people had reluctantly to submit; the rosary was said for the last time and the most adorable sacrament was processionally removed from the building about to be desecrated by the unhappy apostates. Though thus shamefully treated by government, the people were by no means disheartened. The authorities might deprive them of their buildings, but they could erect others. To this end a committee was formed in Wiesbaden, and an appeal made to all the Catholics of Germany asking assistance to erect another place of divine worship and thus provide for the wants of 12,000 Catholic faithful who had been robbed, as above stated, of their beautiful church. It is hardly necessary to say that the appeal was heard and responded to. The restrictions and annoyances of government were become so intolerable that numbers of young priests ordained at this time preferred to leave their native land and go elsewhere. In this they could hardly be blamed, for such was the intol-

erance of the authorities that for a priest to prevent the most adorable sacrament being profaned, was enough to earn for him a prison cell. An instance of this nature happened at Girlochsdorf near Breslau. A government priest being nominated to the charge of the Catholic church of the place, a neighboring clergyman, duly authorized by his ordinary, removed before the arrival of the schismatics, the blessed sacrament and the holy oils. But this was considered a grievous crime in the eyes of government and the clergyman guilty of it was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment! For an equally strange offense was the aged parish priest of Zattwytz arrested and thrown into prison, the crime in his case being that he reproved the audacity of a suspended priest who forced himself on Palm Sunday into the sanctuary! Such cases in which government upheld apostasy and insubordination, and condemned and punished the right exercise of ecclesiastical rule, were not uncommon. But considering the pretensions put forward by the state, little else could be reasonably expected. For a government that regarded all the ministers of religion merely in the light of civil officials, could not be expected to treat them otherwise than in the capacity of subordinates and servants of the state.

Granting, however, that the same intolerant measures employed by government against Catholics were adopted also against other religionists, the injustice of the state's legislation would not be so palpably manifest. But they were not; for while, as we have seen, the various religious communities of Catholics were dissolved and the members who were foreigners required to withdraw from the country not only no impediment was thrown in the way of Protestant religious communities, but every facility was offered by the authorities to increase and propagate their various establishments. Thus in 1875, when nearly all the Catholic

religious were expelled from their homes there were existing in Germany as many as fifty establishments of Protestant deaconesses having an aggregate number of subjects, between regular sisters and novices, of 5,127. The total income of these fifty establishments amounted in 1875 to 3,459,453 marks, or $177,472.13. And it was in the face of these statistical returns that the government of Prussia continued its career of oppression in suppressing the remaining conventual establishments of Catholics in the country.

On the 30th of May the diocese of Treves suffered a serious loss in the death of its venerated prelate, Mgr. Matthias Eberhard. He was one of the many victims who sank under the tyranny of his oppressors. After being repeatedly fined for the infraction of a law that he could not conscientiously obey, he was finally cast into prison on the 6th of March, 1874. Two hundred and ninety-nine days of a painful captivity so undermined his health, that when he obtained his freedom it was plain the hand of death was upon him. Added to this, the sorrow he felt at seeing so many parishes vacant, his priests banished and the ecclesiastical seminaries closed so prayed upon his already shattered constitution that, as has been remarked, he expired on the 30th of May, a martyr of charity and a victim of the cruel and intolerant policy of the civil authorities. It was not, indeed, any ordinary courage that sufficed for those times, for at every step the prelates were met with oppression and had to encounter opposition. On the 24th of May the painful spectacle was witnessed in Mayence of a bishop —the illustrious Mgr. von Kettler—being dragged before the bar of a criminal court and fined to the extent of 300 marks, or twenty days imprisonment, for having permitted an assistant priest to remain in charge of a parish after the pastor's death! About the same date the assistant bishop

of Posen was summoned before a like tribunal for having presumed, without the approval of government, to grant dispensations in his diocese!

Such oppressive measures, however, failed entirely in the object for which they were intended. So far from undermining the faith of Catholics or weakening their love for religion, they served only to strengthen and intensify the same. Nothing could establish more effectually the truth of this than the manner in which the Catholic faithful celebrated the 30th anniversary of the sovereign pontiff's elevation to the papal throne. All through the country the occasion was celebrated with the utmost enthusiasm and with the fullest and richest ceremonial the Catholics had at their command. In some cases, as in Fulda, the streets were adorned with flags and streamers, while the windows were ornamented with wreaths, flowers and transparencies! Such admirable dispositions were not likely to find favor with the authorities, hence it should not be a matter of surprise that at least in one instance they attempted to interfere and forbad, but in vain, under a penalty of three marks each, the good people of Hünfeld from employing any expressions of joy in the shape of illuminated devices or transparencies. So little was this permitted to interfere with the general arrangements that one old woman went before-hand to pay the threatened sum! The ardor and enthusiasm of the people expressed themselves equally on other occasions, especially on the release from captivity of some noble confessor of the faith. The rejoicing was still more intensified when the victim who was restored to his freedom, happened to be a high dignitary of the Church. Thus upon the release from captivity of the coadjutor bishop of Gnesen, after a nine months imprisonment for having consecrated the holy oils, he

was greeted by thousands of his people who accompanied him to the cathedral and returned thanks to God for his delivery from the hands of his enemies; The attachment of the Catholics to their holy faith showed itself in other ways than this, and notably in their avoidance of the government clergy and their refusal to accept the legal privilege accorded them by the state of electing their respective pastors. An instance of this nature occurred on the 24th of July at Peiskretscham, in Silesia (where an election for a pastor was ordered) with 330 dissenting voices to only six in favor! Nothing could be more evident than this to show how the people felt on the matter. The Catholics, however, by refusing to vote were not always successful in preventing the appointment of a government pastor. Whenever the living happened to be the gift of a Protestant patron, government was ready to endorse the appointee of the patron though he happened to be a heretic. As illustrative of this may be instanced the case of the "Old Catholic" priest, Strucksberg, who was appointed to the parish of Ober-Herzogswaldau in Silesia by Baron von Dyhern, although there was not a single schismatical "Old Catholic" in the entire parish. Against so flagrant an outrage the Catholic parishioners loudly protested and appealed to Berlin; but to no purpose, for the action of the patron was sustained and the intruder put into the enjoyment of 3,500 marks of Catholic money without returning anything therefor.

The triumph of government in other instances, wherever the matter lay with the people or the clergy, was not so easy. Indeed in all instances of the latter kind, government was uniformly defeated. As examples, may be instanced the unqualified refusal of the clergy of Cologne, to offer prayers, at the dictation of the civil authorities, for the welfare of her royal highness the Princess Albrecht of

Prussia, as also a similar firmness displayed by the clergy of Paderborn on the same occasion. But what mainly disconcerted the authorities was the firmness and unbending resolution of the priests under the cruel operation of the "bread-basket law," all electing rather to face the greatest indigence than to yield to the commands of the state.

From time immemorial the Franciscan church of Neviges in the Rhine province had been the annual resort of hundreds of pilgrims who repaired there for the object of gaining the indulgence granted by the Church on the feast of Portiuncula. After the suppression of the religious orders, some of the Franciscan Fathers were permitted to remain in the character of secular priests. Being thus permitted to perform parochial duty, it was naturally concluded, that the customary festival could be celebrated. The pilgrims accordingly flocked as usual from distant localities, but great was their disappointment on learning that government had forbidden any celebration on the ground of the feast being peculiarly Franciscan and consequently illegal. This, though a most unwarrantable proceeding, was not so injurious to the people as the prohibition, by government, forbidding the administration of the sacraments, even in the case of the dying, in the parish of Niederzenzheim in Nassau. In the month of August the parish priest died, and, though there were 3,000 Catholics in the locality, the assistant clergy were forbidden to perform any ecclesiastical rite until a pastor duly recognized by government was appointed. Any violation of this order was sure to be followed with imprisonment and banishment from the district, even though the priest ministered only to the dying. The case of Herr Laszewski was an evidence of this, for after being imprisoned for several months for no other crime than that of having administered the affairs of his parish, to which he was duly and canonically appointed,

he was first cast into prison for several months, and then upon the expiration of his term of confinement, banished from the locality.

On the 31st of August the Catholic community of Breslau was filled with the greatest sorrow and indignation. On that day mass was celebrated for the last time in the beautiful church of Corpus Christi, prior to its being handed over by government to the "Old Catholic" sect. An immense congregation was present on the occasion, and as the blessed sacrament was carried processionally out of the church, deep and earnest were the expressions of grief that escaped from the lips of the people. This was not a matter of surprise, for being deprived of that sacred edifice was, as it were, being separated from a dear and cherished friend. There under the shadow of that sacred pile many had grown gray in the service of religion; there the people had been baptized; there confirmed; there joined in the holy bonds of wedlock; and there, too, nourished again and again, month after month and year after year, with the adorable body of the Lord. It was not, however, till next day that the church was formally handed over to the intruders, and not till the lock had to be forced when the work of desecration was completed.

The truly Catholic instincts of the people, in avoiding all contact with the schismatical priests, were never so clearly and effectively evinced though at the cost of serious inconvenience to themselves, as on an occasion when a clergyman named Brenk, who had subscribed to the May laws, appeared, by invitation of the pastor, as a celebrant in the parish church of Pieranie in the diocese of Posen. As soon as the people became aware of the character of the man, a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. The worshippers at once rose to their feet; loud exclamations and protests were heard on every side; while the more peaceable and

orderly retired in a body. The disturbance was laid hold of by the enemies of religion and turned against the Catholic body; proceedings were instituted against the outraged Catholics, and several, for having resented the indignity offered to them, were convicted and condemned to different punishments. Not less arbitrary and tyrannical was the prosecution instituted by the authorities against those who, according to general usage, took up a collection for the pope in one of the churches of the diocese of Cologne. Offensive and obnoxious as these measures were they were by no means as irritating and cruel as the action of the authorities in obliging the people of Marpignen to maintain a military guard for the purpose of preventing the presence of pilgrims in the locality. An additional instance of the despotism of government at this date, was the order forwarded to all the post-office officials commanding them to detain and to forward to the central department of government, all letters and documents addressed in a handwriting similar to one furnished to these officials, and which was known to be that of the lately deposed archbishop of Gnesen and Posen. All the archbishop's correspondence was thus to be detained and confiscated by government. Tyranny could hardly be carried to a further extreme. But yet a more shameless and dishonorable order than this was sent about the same time to the government authorities of Cologne. It was to expel from her convent, where she had spent 70 years of her life, Mother Mary Ursula of the Ursuline community, and then in her 90th year. For the preceding five years that venerable lady was unable to leave her bed, and had to be carried in a litter to the railway depot on the morning of her expulsion. The scene witnessed at the station was one of the saddest and most affecting ever witnessed in Cologne upon the departure of any of its inhabitants. Hundreds of the citizens,

including numbers of those who, for the two preceding generations had been carefully trained under her motherly care, were there to testify by tears and sobs, the grief they felt at the outrage thus offered her by government.

The spirit with which the "Old Catholic" sectaries were animated was beginning to manifest itself also at this date. In October, a congress of that body was held at Breslau the chief result of which was the adoption of an address to government praying to be informed whether any obstacle would be offered to the repeal of the compulsory clerical celibacy law. What the object of the petitioners was, it is not necessary to state.

The month of October, 1876 was further noted for two other occurences highly injurious to Catholics. The former consisted of the deposition of the venerable bishop of Limburg, Mgr. Peter Joseph Blum, who for a period of four and thirty years had governed his diocese in a manner worthy of an admirable prelate. This made the seventh "legally" vacant diocese in Prussia up to this time. The other indignity offered to the Catholic body at this date was the recognition by the state of the right of a handful of "Old Catholic" sectaries numbering about 40 or 50 to the joint use of a Church in the little town of Boppard on the Rhine where the Catholics numbered about 5,000! After such cases no one was taken by surprise to learn that a clergyman Canon Könnig of Halberstadt in Prussian Saxony was cast into prison for a period of six months for having granted a matrimonial dispensation without the permission of government.

The men who were waging this war against God and his Church were not Christians but infidels. A correspondent writing from Berlin of the condition of Protestantism at that date said: "The Churches are empty; the communion tables are deserted. There are in Berlin 700,000 Evan-

gelical Protestants who would be ashamed to be seen in a church. People blush at the sight of their neighbors or acquaintances if they are going to church, and should they ever go at all, they look out for distant churches where they are not likely to be recognized."

It was hardly to be wondered at that a people who thus cut themselves off from all Christians associations should fall into such lamentable ignorance as to suppose the Catholic Church capable of idolatrous worship by adoring the works of the creator. But yet such was the case. In a journal published in Breslau and entitled "Psychical Studies" the editor in an article commenting on the labors of the celebrated astronomer Father Secchi in reference to the constitution of the sun says: "For his justification we might refer to the hymns and liturgical prayers of the Church, which prove that this especially heathenish veneration of the sun which he manifests (Egyptian in its origin) was accepted and sanctified by the Church. Even her *Gradual* at the present day discloses the adoration of the sun in the words—Benedictus es Domine in firmamento cœli."

From time immemorial it was customary for the Catholics of Munster to have an annual procession in honor of the most adorable sacrament. On these occasions all the Catholic children from the schools attended and added by their presence to the solemnity of the occasion. This year, however, the children were ordered not to quit the schools on the day of the celebration. To this the Catholic faith of the parents demurred; the children attended the procession as usual and for this act of devotion and loyalty to the principles of their holy faith as many as 2,300 fathers and mothers were fined by the government!

Much more embarrassing to the faithful than the restrictions imposed on their liberty regarding the due celebration

of their national festivals, was the difficulty and impossibility, indeed, in several instances of obtaining for themselves and their children the proper administration of the sacraments, especially the sacrament of confirmation. This, however, they secured in some cases by artifice. Thus those living on the borders of Saxony evaded the tyranny of government, by sending their children into that territory, for the reception of the sacred rite. But what was of much greater consequence to the Catholics at that date and against which the parish priests of the diocese of Münster and Paderborn reclaimed but in vain, was the entire absence of religious instruction in the schools and the introduction into the classes of books hostile to the faith of the Catholic pupils.

As there were now numerous parishes vacant all through the country the bishops were called upon officially to fill these vacancies, under a fine of five hundred marks or $125,00 each, but they persistently refused. The reason was because no appointment would be recognized by government except the individual agreed to sign the May laws which had been condemned by the sovereign Pontiff. In such cases government proceeded to fill up the vacancies by means of a royal commissary whenever it could obtain an unfortunate subject to accept the position. In this the authorities were only very rarely successful, as is clear from the fact that at this time, in the diocese of Treves alone, there were 139 parishes without a pastor, a Catholic population of over 136,000 being thereby deprived of the advantages of religion. The case was nearly as bad in the province of Hohenzollern, there being then fourteen out of 81 parishes vacant! Meantime, while this glaring injustice was being perpetrated by depriving thousands of the Catholic faithful of the ministration of their faithful priests, government was finding excuses for confiscating the property which

from time immemorial had been enjoyed by the religious and had exclusively belonged to them. Such was the condition of affairs under the persecuting government of Bismark at the close of the year 1876.

The year 1877 opened with a novel proceeding on the part of the state. The assistant bishop of Gnesen and Posen, Mgr. Cybichowski, having been liberated after an imprisonment of nine months for having consecrated holy oils on Maunday-Thursday of the past year, was called upon to pay 149 marks and twenty pfennigers for his diet while in prison! It was not stated that any special regime was furnished at the victim's special request. Yet the authorities undertook to charge him for his maintenance while in prison. On the ground of inability he refused to comply with the unjust and unprecedented demand, and was only saved from a further imprisonment by the generosity of a friend who came forward and paid the amount. This atrocious proceeding was speedily followed by another much more offensive to Catholics—the closing of the orphanages conducted by the Sisters of Charity at Erfert. At the same time a gentleman of property was prosecuted and convicted for having transmitted a document of suspension to an unworthy priest. What was much more serious, however, for the Catholic body was the entire and studied disregard of the government for the rights and interests of Catholics in the education of their little ones. As an instance of this the following may be taken as a proof: at Culm in Polish Prussia where the Catholics outnumbered the Protestants by three to one, the proportion of Protestant to Catholic teachers was five to three, while an aspirant to the evangelical ministry was made the principle of the establishment. These encroachments on the rights of Catholics were not always devoid of a ludicrous character. As for example

when by virtue of one of the newly-framed acts of the legislature divinity students were required to pass an examination before persons appointed by government who should attest to their sufficient acquaintance with Catholic theology!

The reader will remember how the Catholics of Wiesbaden when deprived of their beautiful church which was handed over to the "Old Catholic" sectaries, made an appeal to their brethren through Germany for the means of erecting another for themselves. A considerable sum having been obtained for this purpose, the necessary permission for erecting the building was petitioned for from government, but contrary to all principles of justice and humanity the authorities refused their assent, on the ground that the want of a church was not felt, though at the moment 13,000 persons were unable to attend divine worship! Such were the ideas of justice that animated the rulers of Germany at that moment. The fact, accordingly, of the superioress of a convent being fined by the authorities for not having notified them of the arrival of two of the sisters of the Order was not a matter to be wondered at. But what grieved the Catholics more than anything of this nature was that their little ones should be necessitated to receive religious instruction at the hands of heretical teachers. While a similar policy dictated the action of government in its foreign dependencies as was very clearly demonstrated in the discussion on the 20th of April on the treaty between Germany and the Tongo Islands.

In all cases where schismatical priests were inducted into positions by government, the Catholics invariably refrained from availing themselves of their ministrations. As far as religion was concerned this was a matter of indifference to the Protestant section of the community; but when it began indirectly to exercise an unfavorable influence on their tem-

poral affairs they took an entirely different view of the matter and even petitioned the authorities in favor of their Catholic brethren. Thus at Xions and Kosten the business people of those towns represented to government the necessity of removing the schismatical pastors, on the very novel and singular ground that in consequence of the Catholics coming no longer to divine service from the country, business was seriously damaged. The Catholics in these districts showed the most admirable firmness and determination to have nothing to do with the intruders. Their firmness, however, was oftentimes severely put to the test and earned for them the displeasure and punishment of government. On the 15th of June a procession numbering several hundred persons accompanied a corpse to the church-yard at Kosten, but were refused by the authorities permission to inter the departed on the ground of not having the permission of the schismatical intruder of the place. The body was, accordingly, conveyed to what was known as the cholera church-yard and there interred before the police had time to interfere.

One of the provisions of the May laws is to the effect that no one who is not officially connected with a parish may, without the express permission of the authorities, perform any ecclesiastical function within the limits of said parish. Hence the celebrating of mass, the preaching of the divine word, or the hearing of confessions, became by virtue of that enactment legal offenses. This was why his highness the Rev. Prince Edmund Radziwile was prosecuted and fined in the sum of 50 marks or four days' imprisonment for having sung high mass in the parish church of Ostrowo! A similar instance occurred at Königstein where Herr Petry of Weisskirchen was prosecuted and exiled for hearing confessions and celebrating the divine mysteries! By virtue of the same code the parish priest of

Uder in the Eichsfelds who was also one of the rural deans, was first imprisoned and then deposed for having granted a matrimonial dispensation, his crime being in the eyes of the authorities, "having illegally usurped episcopal functions." In this the smallness and meanness of government was not so clearly displayed as in the following instance. Annually in the diocese of Breslau, collections were made in all the Catholic churches for the double purpose of aiding indigent students and of supporting the educational establishments for the deaf and the blind. This year, however, government issued an order requiring the clergy and parish officials to pay over the amount, whatever was donated, to the civil authorities, to be applied to the maintenance of the state institutions at Breslau. The death of Herr Wurm, the parish priest of Erpel, on the 29th of June, made the entire number of parishes vacant in the diocese of Cologne, one hundred and eleven!

We have seen that at Boppard in the Rhine provinces the "Old Catholics," got the joint use of the beautiful Carmelite church of that place. The Catholics having scrupulously abstained from ever entering it since that moment, a representation was now forwarded by the sectaries to the governor, asking for the exclusive use of the building, a request which was readily granted. As long as the Catholics were at liberty to refuse the ministrations of the government priests, the hardships they labored under were not entirely so heavy; but when they were obliged to be present at the services of the apostates, their case became wholly deplorable. This last act of barbarity government was guilty of in forcing the schismatical suspended priest of Kosten as chaplain upon the poor Catholic prisoners detained in the common gaol of that locality. But what could be expected from a government which would regard it as a crime in a priest who to

prove the orthodxy of his school teacher, would get him to recite the creed of Pius IV. as an assurance that he would not teach anything but purely Catholic doctrine. An instance of this kind happened in Westphalia during the course of this year. Again what could be expected from a government that would punish, with fine and imprisonment, its Catholic subjects for no other crime than that of having raised a subscription with the view of purchasing a reliquary to be presented to the sovereign pontiff on the day of his jubilee. For this imaginary crime each member of the committee, charged with the management of this laudable enterprise, was fined in the sum of 30 marks or five days imprisonment.

In the whole of the Prussian territory west of the Elbe only one bishop, the occupant of the see of Hildersheim, had by this time remained undeposed. The other bishops were not only deposed but imprisoned or exiled. Hundreds of parishes were at the same time deprived of pastors, and to prevent any others from officiating and administering the sacraments a regular system of priest-hunting was instituted by the authorities. In many instances, however, the tact of the clergy avoided the vigilance of the authorities for a very considerable time. In this manner the spiritual interests of the Catholics of the parish of Alt-Gostyn were attended to by the vicar Knowski. At length, however. after a period of two years the worthy priest fell into the hands of his enemies and was sentenced to a fine of 6,840 marks (£342) or two years imprisonment !

Arbitary as were the proceedings of government and unwilling as it was to do anything to favor Catholic interests, it was yet not in a position in every instance to uphold the tyrannical acts of its subordinates. The decision of the legal authorities at Cologne in favor of the transfer of property by the Ursuline community of that city was an

instance of that. Shortly before the passing of the conventual suppression law in 1875, the Ursuline religious at Cologne disposed of nearly the whole of their property for the sum of 500,000 marks. Unmindful of the fact that the sale had been effected before the law for the suppression of the religious had been passed by the legislature, the provisional authorities took possession of the property on the ground that the sale had been fraudulent. An appeal, however, to the chief tribunal at Cologne sustained the original sale and the government authorities were ordered to quit the premises.

The injustice, and distastefulness to the community of the course pursued by the authorities in regard to the religious communities was very clearly evinced in the affection manifested by the people in general in favor of those persecuted servants of God. Not only Catholics but even Protestants and Israelites manifested good will in their regard. At Dusseldorf, upon the suppression of the religious community of that place, a petition was forwarded to government signed in favor of the sisters, by persons of all denominations, praying that at least for a time the religious might be allowed to remain. And when a negative answer was returned by government more than a hundred parents declared their firm resolution of not availing themselves of the education provided for their children by the state.

It was not to be wondered at that Catholic parents or even those retaining any tincture of the Christian religion should have objected placing their little ones under such teachers for the spirit of infidelity had then been very considerably extended and imbibed even by those who stood in the character of religious instructors. In June of '77 a clergyman named Rhode boldly impugned in the presence of a synod of his brethren at Berlin the fundamental be-

lief of all Christians declaring that the Apostles' creed was unreasonable and the worst that could be imagined, while as regarded the words "He ascended into Heaven" the preacher declared that to accept them in a literal sense would be to do violence to his conscience! In like manner Herr Spicker, the professor of philosophy in what was once the Catholic university of Munster, openly maintained his disbelief in the immateriality of the soul and the creation of the world from nothing.

The position of the unhappy schismatical clergy who at the invitation and by the aid of the government intruded themselves into the positions of the lawful pastors, was by no means agreeable even for themselves. The people avoided them not only in spiritual but even in temporal matters. No better proof could be given of the utter detestation in which the schismatical clergy were held by the people than the fact that at this date, October 13, '77, there were only twenty state parish priests in all Prussia. The positive refusal, too, of the Catholic congregations to elect their own pastors, when called upon by government to do so, was a further evidence of the truly Catholic spirit by which they were animated. In some instances, as at Berg near Brilon, not one attended on the day appointed by government for the election of a pastor.

Meantime, however, government continued to carry out its legislation, prosecuting and convicting on the most frivolous charges, priests, religious, and laymen. Herr von Kurowski, one of the canons of the cathedral of Posen, was deposed from his office and cast into prison for two years and four months on the suspicion of being a secret delegate of the archbishop. Another of the clergy of the same diocese, Herr Pedzinski, of St. Martin's, was condemned to six months' imprisonment for giving a dispensation from fasting; while, more atrocious still, a Sister of Charity of

Kosten was twice committed to gaol for having refused to give evidence against some of the clergy as well as against her own superior! In keeping with the above was the prosecution by government of two others of the clergy of Posen, for reading the burial service at the grave of a deceased neighboring pastor, and the conviction of several of the laity for having aided and abetted a missionary clergyman in his ministrations.

But to what did all this system of tyranny tend? Was it even favorable to Protestantism? So far from the suppression of religion in the training of youth being regarded as an advantage that on the 12th of December a great meeting was held at Minden in Westphalia, at which the Protestants of the place adopted an address to the emperor praying his Majesty to permit a return to the old established system or the denominational form.

In the Rhenish provinces it had been customary from time immemorial for the teachers of the Catholic children to accompany their pupils to church on the occasion of their first communion. Even this harmless custom was regarded as wrong in the eyes of the authorities, for an order was sent at this time, by the Minister of Instruction, prohibiting the teachers from accompanying the children in future on such occasions. After this no one could feel surprised that the editor of a Catholic paper should be prosecuted and imprisoned for denominating one of the state clergy an apostate priest. The time was now come when, if government had been at all disposed, a reconciliation might have been readily effected between the state and the Church, without any humiliating acknowledgment of defeat on the part of the former. The occasion presented was the accession of the present illustrious pontiff, Leo XIII to the chair of Peter. In February 1878, Pius IX. was called to his eternal reward. The event, though not unexpected,

cast a gloom all over the Catholic world: there was sadness in every heart and mourning under every roof. But while the children of the Church were every-where giving expression to their sorrow, the Liberals of Germany were, on the other hand, rejoicing at the event. For the man, whom of all others they feared and detested the most, was then out of the way, and in their shortsightedness and folly they hopefully anticipated in his demise the triumph of their cause. The successor in office to Pius, they imagined, would, seeing the determination of government, readily submit to the inevitable, abandon the principles of his predecessor and inaugurate a more liberal policy. The election, too, of Leo, who was accredited with a leaning in that direction, gave them additional hopes. But in judging thus they forgot that the principles for which the Catholics of the empire were struggling were those of conscience, and not to be contravened by any authority, however exalted, in the Church. Taking advantage, however, of the opportunity offered him, when notifying, according to custom, the powers of Europe of his elevation to the papacy, Leo was careful to express his earnest desire for the termination of the unpleasant relations then existing between the Church and the state. Thus an avenue was opened for arriving at the termination of a question which had brought so much sorrow to the Church, and so much embarrassment to the imperial government. The most punctilious could not, under such circumstances, have felt any difficulty in arranging the basis of a proper understanding. But the imperial government was not so disposed, and instead of a friendly response, meeting his holiness half way, the emperor's answer was haughty and offensive. It was disingenious and notoriously at variance, too, with the actual state of affairs then existing in the empire; for while it referred to the priests as refractory and rebellious,

it gave to the people the credit of being ready and willing to subscribe to the objectionable code. It went farther and covertly insinuated that the cause of all the embarrassment and trouble was the late sovereign pontiff's action in the premises. This was to insult the dead and to attempt to divide the clergy and the laity. After this no one could blame the holy father if he abstained from all further attempts at conciliation. But the interests at stake were so grave, and the statements made in the imperial note so devoid of truth, that he deemed it his duty to continue the correspondence. In his reply Leo lucidly vindicated the conduct of the clergy, and showed how, in conscience, they could not be expected to give their approval to laws which were in direct violation of the rights and liberties of the Church. He, accordingly, urged upon his Majesty the necessity of repealing such laws. This was the moment for the authorities to avail themselves of the kind offices and solemn assurances of the sovereign pontiff, and thus to bring to an end a war upon the rights and consciences of millions of the people—a war which the longer it is protracted and the bitterer it is waged, the more dishonorable it will be to the persecutors and the more glorious to the sufferers. For like every other attempt upon the rights and liberties of the faithful, of which there have been so many examples in the past, it will end in discomfiture for the oppressors and triumph for the oppressed. The imperial government, however, manifested no indications of any desire to come to a proper understanding with the ecclesiastical authorities. On the contrary, the emperor's answer, written at his command by the crown prince, was as unyielding and unconciliatory as could be imagined. Agencies, however, were then at work in the empire which in their subsequent development taught the authorities a lesson of personal danger, and made them understand how in the preservation of the spiritual

order the security of the nation was mainly to be found. These agencies were the united efforts and ramifications of the socialistic societies then every-where spreading through the country. On the 11th of May, 1878, his Majesty, while taking his evening drive, was fired on by a member of this society. The attempt was repeated a month later, and with more dangerous consequences, the emperor being dangerously wounded. Nor did the worst feature of the case consist in the murderous attacks of the would-be assassins, but rather in the numbers (and they were exceedingly great) who as members of the same society were in sympathy with the culprits. At last the conviction forced itself on the minds of the rulers that the destruction of religion meant the destruction of the state, and, as a consequence, that the only effectual safeguard and antidote against the efforts and aims of the socialistic societies was the maintenance and preservation of the spiritual order. This the emperor clearly expressed when he said, "We must preserve the Christian religion." More emphatically still was the same set forth by the Minister Hoffman, when, in his place in the Chamber he admitted that "it was the special province of the Catholic Church to check the danger threatening the land from the spirit of socialism." Thus once more an opportunity offered of coming to an understanding with the rulers of the nation. The way was even further opened by the Chancellor expressing his willingness to enter into communication with the Holy See. On his part, the holy father was only too glad to embrace an opportunity that might eventually lead to a satisfactory adjustment of the much-vexed question. Hence the papal nuncio at Munich, Monsignore Messala, was appointed for that purpose and had an interview with Prince Bismark at Kissingen. What transpired on that occasion was not made public: but one thing was clear that the state refused to abandon its position,

for no understanding was come to regarding the objectionable laws. Thus the year 1878 passed without bringing any alleviation to the suffering Catholics, and from that date down to the present the condition of affairs remains almost the same. The faithful, however, look forward to the day when the justice of their cause will be acknowledged. That hour will most assuredly come, for conscience has ever prevailed. The contest, indeed, may be continued still longer; another decade may be added to the struggle; but sooner or later the iniquitous laws will be repealed, government will acknowledge itself defeated, the bishops will be permitted to return to their sees, and peace will be restored to the Church.

CHAPTER XVII.

PERSECUTION IN ITALY—ITS ORIGIN—ASSURANCES GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE CHURCH—VIOLATION OF THESE PROMISES—ROME OCCUPIED—THE SPIRIT THAT ANIMATED GOVERNMENT—ANTI-CATHOLIC JOURNALS FOSTERED—THE FAITH OF THE NATION VIOLATED WITHIN ONE YEAR—SEVERAL RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS APPROPRIATED—THE HEADS OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ROME APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE—NO ATTENTION PAID TO THE PROTEST—DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE EXPELLED CLERGY—SEES LEFT VACANT BECAUSE THE APPOINTED PRELATES CANNOT APPLY FOR THE EXEQUATUR—THE NUMBER OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES TAKEN POSSESSION OF UP TO JUNE 1872—A WHOLESALE CONFISCATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY AVOIDED ONLY FROM MOTIVES OF POLICY—ADDITIONAL BAD FAITH ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT—THE BILL FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES PASSES IN THE CHAMBER—SALE OF ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY—SALE OF THE IRISH COLLEGE PREVENTED BY MGR. KIRBY—TYRANNY OF GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE CLERGY—SEVERE MEASURES AGAINST THEM—EFFECT OF ALL THE SPOLIATION.

During the period we have just reviewed in connection with German affairs the enemies of religion were at work in another country of Europe. In Italy, too, where of all places in the world religion should be most honored and respected, deeds of high-handed oppression and violence have been perpetrated by those in authority in a manner that will ever imprint the darkest stain on the memories of the actors. The oppression of religion in the latter case is even more indefensible than in the former, from the fact that the authors of the measures are Catholic and even solemnly pledged and reiterated the assurance before coming into power that the interests of religion would be scrupulously observed. Nor was the course adopted by government against the liberties of the Church the result of momentary excitement. On the contrary it was a cool, premeditated scheme, and had its origin in the

policy and aims of the government of Sardinia long prior to the absorption of the papal territory by that power. In fact as far back as 1852 the idea of the obnoxious measures was formulated by the then Prime Minister. In that year Camillo Benso Cavour, a man of indomitable energy and whose life-dream had been the unification of Italy, was called to the presidency of the royal council in place of the retiring minister D'Azeglio. From that moment the rights and prerogatives of the Church were no longer respected. They were not supposed to exist. The state and the state alone was the sovereign authority and none was to oppose its will. In effect the idea in the mind of the Minister was that religion was to be the handmaid of the civil authority. His dictum "A free Church in a free state" meant nothing else than that the Church was to be the creature or slave of the temporal power. This he very clearly demonstrated by the laws he introduced into the legislature and passed in opposition to the remonstrances and representations of the entire clergy and hierarchy. Neither the binding force of the then existing Concordat nor the sacredness of the constitution, nor the inherited rights of communities were any impediment to prevent him from carrying out his bold, iniquitous and unscrupulous designs. The possession of the temporal goods of the Church being the immediate object of the Minister's ambition, a series of laws were enacted depriving the clergy of their worldly possessions, suppressing religious communities and forbidding the existence of community life. By virtue of these ordinances the Church was reduced to a condition of servile dependence, of penury and subjection unworthy of her character and mission as the witness and teacher of truth. The last of these iniquitious laws was passed on the 11th of August, 1870.

It, accordingly, required more than the mere antecedents

and policy of the government of Sardinia to satisfy the Catholic world that in the event of the unification of the entire country, which was then strenuously aimed at, a like policy would not be pursued in the latter as well as in the former instance. Hence the memorandum forwarded by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 29th of August, 1870, to all the friendly powers, giving the most explicit and emphatic assurance of the good-will and intentions of his Sardinian majesty's government towards the Catholic Church and her rights and prerogatives. Speaking in reference to the contemplated occupation of Rome, the Minister in the document referred to, said: "The government *promises* to preserve *all the institutions*, offices, and ecclesiastical bodies existing at Rome as well as those employed therein. The government *promises* to *preserve intact* and without submitting them to special taxation *all ecclesiastical properties* of which the revenues belong to offices, corporations institutions and ecclesiastical bodies having their seat in Rome and in the Leonine city."

Again in the same document the Minister gave the further formal pledge: "The government will not meddle with the internal discipline of the *ecclesiastical corporations in Rome*. The bishops and priests of the kingdom are free in their respective dioceses and parishes, *of all interference from the government* in the exercise of their spiritual functions." And finally: "These articles shall be considered as *a public and bilateral contract*, and the point of union with the powers having Catholic subjects." Nothing could be more formal, explicit, and reassuring than this. If faith was to be put in anything, it was in this publicly pledged assurance of the government. The same was even endorsed and reiterated by the parliament on the 30th of January, 1871, when the minister, M. Visconti Venosta, speaking on behalf of the country, said: "We have always declared

that we wished to solve the Roman question without offending the feelings of Catholics and the legitimate interests of other governments." How little these promises were to be credited and how short they were meant to be kept the future abundantly demonstrated. Hardly had the troops of his majesty, the king of Sardinia, taken forcible possession of the capital of the Christian world than it became manifest how religion was destined to suffer. Indeed, the violent entrance into the city at the mouth of the cannon was in itself a gross and flagrant violation of the faith of the nation, it having been previously solemnly pledged by the parliament of Sardinia that an entrance into Rome would never be effected other than by moral and not by physical means. The manner of obtaining possession of the city, then, being a breach of the publicly pledged faith of the country it is not to be wondered at that the other assurances were alike disregarded. The suppression of religious communities and the appropriation of their landed estates did not, indeed, immediately follow. But from the moment that Rome ceased to be governed by the pontiff-king, a reign of violence, tyranny, and oppression immediately set in.

The spirit with which government was animated from the beginning, was very unmistakably demonstrated by the attitude it assumed towards the infidel and Catholic press. For while the former was permitted to utter the basest untruth and the most shameful and reprehensible calumnies, the latter was subjected to fine and imprisonment for no other crime than that of vigorously defending the interests of truth. Thus the editors of the "Osservatore Cattolico" of Milan and of the "Voce della Verita" in Rome were fined, the former 6,000 francs, and the latter 2,500, and several months imprisonment each, for having defended the interests of the sovereign pontiff. That these

were not exceptional instances but displayed the common action of government in regard to the entire Catholic press is vouched for by a reliable authority writing from the scene of these oppressions, and in view of the punishments awarded. "The Catholic papers continue to be furiously persecuted. Yesterday the editor of that excellent paper the 'Frusta,' was condemned to two year's imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 lire. Some of our Catholic journals have already disappeared, and it is difficult to see how the others can long continue to exist." At the same time, there were then in Rome, unmolested by government, *fourteen* anti-Catholic daily papers, whose entire object seemed to be to debauch the minds of the young, and to inspire their readers with a hatred for everything Catholic.

The influence these journals, edited mainly by Jews, exercised upon the mind of the community was exceedingly deplorable. They embittered the minds of their readers against the clerical body, weakened the affections of the people for religious observances, partially undermined the faith of the community, and scattered broadcast those seeds of impiety and licentiousness, which for so many centuries, Rome for the first time, had an occasion to deplore. In this however, they were only acting in the interests of their masters. They opened and smoothed the way for that violence and oppression of which government was then beginning to furnish so decisive a proof. Whatever acts of injustice and invasion of the rights of individuals government found it convenient to do, the anti-Catholic press previously counselled and urged. Were Catholic schools to be suppressed, were heretical teachers to be patronized, the clergy to be made subject to conscription, and the religious communities to be suppressed, the infidel, anti-Catholic press furnished the reasons and supplied the

motives. In effect, in the irreligious, rationalistic, ætheistical journalists of the time, government had its best, its surest and most reliable support. Hence, the promises made before entering Rome, and reiterated after taking possession of that capital of the Christian world, were quickly forgotten or remembered only to be shamefully broken. A single year had not yet elapsed, when in the face of the assurance given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the 29th of August 1870, to the effect that all ecclesiastical institutions, and properties would be preserved intact, the authorities basely ignored the solemnly pledged faith of the nation, by appropriating to the uses of government the property of several religious establishments! To prevent the application of the same principle to the other religious communities and thus avert the common danger that seemed to be imminent to all, the heads of all the religious orders then in Rome united in an address to the various governments of Europe, praying their timely and favorable interposition:

"To their Excellencies, the Ambassadors, Ministers, Charges d'Affairs and Consuls accredited to the Holy See—

"After the unjust confiscation which has robbed with violence from the lawful owners several ecclesiastical houses and many monasteries and convents of monks and nuns, and in sad anticipation of further spoliations; the undersigned being General-Superiors and Procurators-General of corporations ecclesiastical and monastic residing in Rome, take the liberty of addressing to your Excellencies their united protest against the wrongs of which they are the victims, and they confidently solicit the benevolent intervention of the diplomatic body in behalf of their houses, their convents, their churches, and their generalitial residences, their procuratories-general, their novitiates, their colleges, and their hospices."

The foregoing was written on the 4th of October. How little attention was paid to it by those to whom it was forwarded may be judged from the actual condition of affairs a month from that date in the city of Rome. "The Roman religious houses," wrote a correspondent at that time, "disappear more and more every day under the hammer of the new Goths. The expulsion of the poor Barbarini nuns was effected this morning during one of those tremendous deluges of rain peculiar to Rome."

The conscription of the clergy and forcing them to serve in the ranks of the army, was another act of inhumanity and tyranny admirably in keeping with the expulsion of the religious and the appropriation of their temporal revenues. It is true, indeed, that permission was granted them to release themselves from service by the payment of 2,500 lire, or £100 English money; but as the majority of those who were conscripted were unable to furnish this sum, the very painful and humiliating spectacle was constantly witnessed of numbers of priests serving in the ranks of the army, and obliged to associate with the lowest in the community. The numbers that were thus forced into military service and the humiliating condition to which they were in consequence subjected, may be judged from the following: "There is at this moment (Dec. 25, 1871) in Rome, a considerable number of priests who have been forced into the ranks of the army by the Italian law. Every morning these soldiers go to different churches in the city, put on the vestments over their uniforms, and celebrate mass. Each of these men's histories contains painful facts, which of themselves would be enough to brand with infamy in Catholic opinion the present rulers and legislators of Italy." It was thus the promises of government not to interfere with the property or persons of ecclesiastics was kept. The policy adopted

by government during the period we have just reviewed, was not altered during 1872. On the contrary more aggressive and embarrassing measures were adopted by the authorities, whereby religion had to encounter a struggle as serious and momentous as that which was engaged in by the people of Germany. The public announcement in the month of January of the sale by auction, to take place at Palermo, of the furniture of the various suppressed religious establishments and churches of that city was a sufficient indication of how the year was likely to end. The sympathy, too, extended to the sectaries, and the aid accorded them in the establishment of schools and churches in the very seat and centre of Catholicity—the city of the sovereign pontiffs—was an additional evidence in the same direction. But what more clearly demonstrated the real intentions of the governing powers and the true character of the coming contest was the refusal on the part of the authorities to recognize as legitimate the bishops appointed by the Holy See without those prelates' applying for the royal exequatur. That they could not conscientiously do, as it would be recognizing in government a right it did not possess, that of accepting or rejecting the appointments made by the sovereign pontiff, and at the same time acknowledging the legitimacy of government in the Pontifical States. As far as principle was not involved, the bishops carefully and courteously discharged their duty towards the secular authorities by politely informing the Minister of Worship of their regular appointment and expressing a hope that no legal impediment would be placed in the way of their taking possession of their respective sees and exercising the offices attaching thereto. To this no answer was vouchsafed, and the newly-appointed prelates were given to understand that if they desired to be recognized by the state they would have to forward their bulls to the civil

authority! That this was the unalterable resolve of the government, was very clearly shown in the refusal to grant to the priests appointed to office by the new bishops their regular stipend. The embarrassment that this created for the Church was very considerable, for up to the 1st of June there were 103 bishops thus deprived of their revenues, palaces, and civil constitutional rights. Meantime, the outrages committed against the religious and sacred images, but of which government took little or no notice became of constant and almost daily occurrence, thereby furnishing additional evidence of the deep-seated anti-Catholic sentiments of the rulers of the nation. Of the same character was the license accorded the liberal press to attack with impunity everything sacred, while the smallest offense on the part of the Catholic journalists was followed by suspension and sequestration.

Although the bill for the suppression of religious communities was not introduced into the legislature, yet up to the middle of July of this year government had on one pretense or another taken possession of thirty-five religious establishments and were then at that date about to expropriate three additional ones. The measure for the general suppression was not long delayed. It was even then understood to be ready and that it contemplated the sequestration of all the religious establishments excepting the *Casa Generalisia* or the houses where the generals resided. Meanwhile the radical press, edited mainly by Jews and infidels, did everything in its power to hasten the moment of action. It supplied the reasons such as they were to the government. The "Capitale" constantly published the vilest and most calumnious charges. The "Liberta" on the other hand opened its columns to unfortunate apostate priests and monks, while the "Fanfulla" another of the same class of anti-Catholic journals, did all in its power to inflame the minds of its readers

by the lying assurances that everything in the shape and character of art was being secretly and effectively smuggled out of the country by the religious communities. These and such like assertions were all that government needed to strengthen its hands and to give a coloring of justice to its shameful proceedings. It did not, indeed, proceed summarily with the work of destruction. A wholesale confiscation of the property of the Church might offend the conscience of the nation. Hence for a time a species of moderation had to be maintained. But by the end of November of this year the public had become sufficiently accustomed and habituated to the work of expropriation so that no danger or outcry was anticipated in case of proceeding with the general measure. Hence towards the end of the month of November a bill was introduced into the legislature making applicable to Rome, with certain slight modifications, the laws then in existence in Sardinia whereby the suppression of religious communities had been enacted and the property of the Church became that of the state. In all this the triumph of government was apparently complete; it had attained the end for which it had earnestly struggled—it had confiscated the property of religion. But yet it stood discomfited in the eyes of the world. For it was at the expense of its solemnly-pledged word that it had so far attained its purpose while its tyranny and injustice had not weakened the love of the people for their faithful pastors. The bishops might indeed be deprived of their revenues and their palaces, they might be ignored by the civil authority, they might even be branded as disloyal; but still the affection of the people was not diminished in their regard. Wherever they went they were received with demonstrations of affection, reverence and loyalty by their faithful subjects. Fireworks, addresses and presentations of objects of value greeted them in divers localities as they proceeded

on the tour of their episcopal visitations. Thus closed the year 1872—a year of great trial and suffering for the Italian Church, of great violence, injustice and broken engagements for the government.

The legislative course pursued by the authorities during 1872 was continued and intensified during 1873. The main characteristics of this year were additional acts of bad faith on the part of the government, that is continued expropriation of the property of the religious, and increased misery in the case of the expoliated communities. Had the miserable pittance, varying from 120 to 240 dollars per annum, assigned by government to individual members of the suppressed communities, been regularly paid, their condition would not have been so bad. But it was not, several months being allowed to elapse before the promised "assegno" was paid. Meanwhile the unfortunate religious were driven to the utmost extremity of want, and saved only from actual starvation by the charity of the faithful in coming to their aid.

We have seen on a former page how government, in preparing a bill for the suppression of the religious communities, made an exception in favor of the parent houses or the *Casa Generalisia*, where the general superiors resided. That this was a promise never intended to be kept, the short space of one year sufficiently proved. As early as March of 1873 government took possession of a portion of the Gesu, the head house of the society of that name. Nor was that enough to satisfy the greed of the spoliators, for a few months later, on the 20th of October, the members of that venerable institute were summoned before a municipal commission and informed that government had taken formal possession of their establishment. Thus a double guarantee was shamefully violated, the first that of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1870, who pledged

the faith of the government not to interfere with any of the institutional establishments of the country, and the other that of the parliament in 1872, which made an exception in the scheme of suppression in favor of the *Casa Generalisia*, or parent-houses. The very furniture of the establishment, and which was of the plainest and most inexpensive kind, consisting of old beds, tables, chairs, etc., was not even left to the community, but was sold by auction for a paltry sum on the 12th of November.

When the Chamber of Deputies in May of this year passed the bill for the suppression of the religious communities, the representatives of these bodies, the superiors-general of the various orders and societies, alive to the gravity of the situation, united in a common protest addressed to His Majesty. The result was what might have been anticipated. The king left the matter in the hands of the senate, and that body sharing the sentiments of the lower house, passed the measure, and thereby put the crowning act to the nation's dishonor and infidelity. The first sale of the ecclesiastical church property thus unscrupulously and basely obtained by government, took place on the 9th of December, and realized the sum of 227,300 lire, or $32,000.

However humiliating and injurious to the proprietors of the property thus disposed of by the state, it was not a result for which they had been unprepared. For from the moment of the passing of the act of suppression, it was clearly understood what would be the fate of the ecclesiastical estates. But what the Catholics of Rome, and especially the British inhabitants of the city, had never anticipated, was that the act of suppression would be made to take in the ecclesiastical property of foreign educational establishments. Hence the surprise and indignation of the faithful at large, but especially of the British inhabitants

of Rome, on hearing of the intention of government to proceed with the sale of the property belonging to the college of St. Agatha, an institute exclusively Irish in its origin, management and object. The astonishment was the greater, too, from the fact that a few months previous, the Italian government had given a distinct assurance, through the British *charge d'affairs*, Sir Augustus Paget, that the English, Irish, and Scotch collegiate institutions were not intended to be affected by the law of suppression. Replying to a communication on this head forwarded to him by the Catholic Union of Ireland, Earl Granville wrote on the 22d of February 1874, as follows: "Sir A. Paget has now received the memorandum from the Italian Minister of Grace and Justice, in which it is stated that the three colleges last mentioned, that is, the English, Irish, and Scotch, are not included in the bill, because the proposed law does not affect institutions of this nature, which are either the same as seminaries, which were not comprised in any of the laws of suppression, or belong to those Catholic institutions with regard to which, Article 13 of the Law of Guarantees determined that they shall continue to depend upon the holy see." In the face of this and the other guarantees spoken of elsewhere, placards announcing the sale by auction, under the suppression act, of the property belonging to the Irish college, were posted commonly in Rome. By the energetic efforts, however, of the rector, Mgr. Kirby, the contemplated sale did not take place. In attaining this happy result no thanks are due, or to be rendered to the British authorities; on the contrary, they very weakly and unworthily abandoned the position they had assumed as guarantees for the good faith of the Italian powers. The only reason assigned by the government organ, the "Liberta," for suspending the sale of the property, was the desire on the part of the government to do the most scrupulous jus-

tice by all. "We are able," so says that journal, "to affirm that no foreign government interfered in the least degree, in this affair, and that the Junta determined to suspend the sale by its own *motu proprio* solely, and moved by a zeal for legality pushed to a scrupulous extreme." To what extent the government was inspired by a scrupulous love of justice in all it had done in confiscating the property of the religious communities, the reader is able to form a judgment. It was not a scrupulous love of justice that induced the responsible Minister of the crown, first to promise and afterwards to violate the solemnly pledged faith of the nation, regarding the integrity of ecclesiastical property and institutes. It was not a scrupulous love of justice that induced the authorities, in the case of the suppression of religious communities, to make an exception in favor of *Casa Generalisia*, or parent establishments, and afterward to include them in the common destiny of all. Neither was it a scrupulous love of justice that urged the governing power to cherish and foster the infidel press then almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews. In fine it was not a scrupulous love of justice that suggested the taxation of canonical stipends, the encouragement of religious animosity, and the suppression of devotional assemblages. In the last instance the authorities seemed to entirely forget what was due to the feelings and instincts of a Catholic people. As, however, nations as well as individuals never act without a reason, whether good or bad, the grounds set forth for prohibiting the concourse of the faithful to the time-honored places of devotion, were those of a sanitary character, as expressed in the following notice, issued under the authority and in the name of the government:

"NOTICE—In consequence of orders emanating from the Prefecture of the Provinces of Umbria and Amona, the Pro-

cession of Pardon, the Pilgrimages directed to San Angelo of Perugia, to the Madonna of the Angels, to San Francesco d'Assisii, and to the holy house of Loretto, are prohibited on the ground of public health. The pilgrims, whether single or in company, shall be sent back from the territory of both provinces; and wherever, by eluding surveillance, they shall have succeeded in entering, they will render themselves liable to police penalties; they shall be arrested and conducted to their own country under escort."

The partial liberty enjoyed by the Church from the occupation of Rome up to the close of 1873, was very much diminished as time went on. When government found itself firmly established and had nothing to fear, the rights of the clergy were wholly ignored. Priests, bishops and religious were prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned for the slightest and most imaginary offenses. A list of such punishments would be a dishonor to any nation in the world. Thus a refusal to sing a *Te Deum*, which could not be complied with without a violation of principle, was followed in the case of the bishop of Fænza by a condemnation of a three years imprisonment or a 4,000-lire fine! For the same offense, in not solemnly giving thanks to God for the recent usurpation or unification of the country, the vicar-general of Bologna was visited with a penalty of three years imprisonment or 2,000-lire fine! Others fared more severely still. Eleven persons, amongst whom were six bishops and two archbishops, were prosecuted for publishing pontifical documents without the royal exequatur. Twenty-six ecclesiastics were dragged before the lay tribunals for refusing to administer the sacraments to those whom they regarded as unworthy. Five ecclesiastics were prosecuted for not accepting as sponsors at baptism excommunicated persons. Thus for not actually violating the laws of the Church and the voice of conscience, the subjects of the new regime

were severely punished. The intention of government in this was plain: it was to place the state above the Church it was to make the civil power the supreme and ultimate authority in the land. In like manner government showed its intention and power by incarcerating several clergymen for declaring that the purchasers of the expoliated church property were subject to excommunication. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the Catholic journals should have fallen under the displeasure of the authorities for the least outspoken expression of sentiment, as in effect they did, the "Osservatore Romano" and the "Voce della Verita" being sequestrated for the supposed offense against the laws of the state of having favorably contrasted the condition of Rome under the popes with that under the king of Sardinia!

But what demonstrated more clearly than this the intention of the state to place itself above all other authority, were the articles embodied in the penal code at the beginning of this year, the ccxvith article of which enacts that "any clergyman who abuses in any way his ministerial and spiritual functions so as to disturb the public conscience or the peace of families shall be punishable with imprisonment varying from four months to two years and with fine not exceeding 1,000-lire." The ccxviith article of the same code made the uttering or writing of anything disparaging of government or its institutions a crime to be punished with incarceration for three months or a fine of 1,000 lire. While by the ccxviiith article any clergyman exercising any external act of worship contrary to the desires and prohibitions of government made himself liable thereby to three months' imprisonment or a fine of 2,000 lire. Thus by these and kindred enactments the entire ecclesiastical body were made the mere servants of the crown—the prefect and not the bishop, the state and not the sovereign pon-

tiff being the authority to determine what was to be done or what was to be omitted. Nor was it to be thought that the enactments referred to remained wholly inoperative. The instances assigned are evidence of this, not indeed, that the same commendable zeal for the punishment of crimes against the sanctity of religion signalized in like manner the action of government. On the contrary the most shameful excesses if only perpetrated against the ministers of religion or the majesty of God, were sure to be lightly regarded if not wholly ignored. Of this a more satisfactory evidence could hardly be advanced than that of the exculpation on the ground of monomania of the daring and audacious wretch who hurled with a blow of his cane the adorable sacrament from the high altar of Turin where it was exposed for the veneration of the faithful.

We have seen how in 1872 the laws of Sardinia, regarding the sequestration of Church property, were made applicable to the Pontifical States and how, in consequence, the dissolution of the religious establishments was being proceeded with and their estates appropriated by the government. All this, however, was insufficient to satisfy the rapacity of the governing powers. Accordingly it occurred to the minds of the rulers to apply the same measure to the charitable institutions, under which heading came hospitals, infirmaries, and schools for the poor. The committee appointed for the examination of the matter reported to the Chamber of Deputies in favor of the scheme and recommended the conversion of the establishments into Rendita, the proceeds to be applied as a sinking fund to liquidate the state debt! A large amount was thus sure to be realized by the state. In Milan alone, the charitable bodies possessed a property equivalent to fifteen millions for the city, and sixty millions or more of lire for the rural district. The annual rent from all the institutions of this

nature in the country amounted, according to statistics furnished the Minister of Finance, to the considerable sum of 135,000,000 lire, representing a capital stock of about three milliards of lire. All this government purposed diverting from its original purpose and applying to the payment of the national debt. It was no wonder that the unscrupulous, irresponsible ministers of the crown turned their eyes in that direction to save them from their embarrassment, for in the preceding year the deficit in the budget amounted to 133,000,000 lire! All this time, however, it must be borne in mind that the work of spoliation in regard to the religious communities continued apace and was urged on with unabated vigor. The number of convents appropriated by government up to the commencement of May of the year 1874 was 172, from which 1896 religious were expelled. Of these 623 were priests, 437 lay brothers, 555 choir nuns, and 281 lay sisters. The amount realized by the sale of the property of these religious was 3,708,277 lire or about £132,438 English money. Did all this money find its way into the state treasury? By no means: government having plundered the religious, the officers of government made no scruple of plundering and cheating their employers in turn. At Florence in the department of public worship frauds to the amount of 200,000 lire were discovered. In Naples four or five of the state employees were subjected to a government prosecution for like crimes. Nor was it a thing at all considered improper to rob and plunder under such circumstances. "Many persons," said Deputy Carbetta, before the Chamber, "believe it not immoral to cheat the state." And the Premier, Minghetti, said on the 22nd of April to the Deputies. "There exist now in Italy factories of immorality wherein cheating the state is taught."

It is now time to enquire what was the effect on the com-

munity of all this spoliation and plunder. How did it fare with the disbanded religious who were so unscrupulously deprived of their means of support? Their condition was one of extreme misery. To save them from actual starvation the resources of the sovereign pontiff were taxed to their utmost, while at the same time the alms of foreign Catholics supplied the needs of some. The condition of the laity was hardly better. As if in bitter and cruel irony of the promised advantages to be derived from the new regime, a case of death from starvation occurred in Rome on the eve of the anniversary of the forcible taking possession of the capital by the royal troops—a sad and significant commentary on the state of the country.

This was only a natural consequence of the enormous rate of taxation under the new government, it being three times greater than that under the reign of Pius IX.* How this could be, if any economy were practised, if peculation did not exist on the most gigantic scale, considering the enormous amount of plunder that fell into the hands of the government, it is impossible to conceive. For the total amount of church property seized upon and sold by government from October, 1867, to August, 1874, was 102,019 lots, the amount realized therefor being in the aggregate 467,154,708 lire! This enormous amount one should suppose would satisfy the cravings of the most rapacious despoilers; but it seemed only to urge them on to further acts of similar violence, causing them to forget and contravene the very promises they had made in the case of certain establishments of an educational character, as for instance, the noble institute of the Propaganda, whose property at Frascati was sold to the Duke of Grazioli for 327,000 lire! In a like spirit of rapacity, a considerable property, bequeathed at this time to the Society of the Jesuits by the Marquis

* Tablet, Sept. 5, 1874.

Fagnani, was appropriated by government under the law of conversion and suppression.

Another feature of the tyrannical legislation of the year 1874 was the enactment regarding civil marriage. Against this the bishops vigorously protested; but, as in every thing else, their voice was unheeded.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CRIME INCREASES UNDER THE NEW REGIME—ITS CAUSES—THE BAD LITERATURE OF THE COUNTRY—THE ANTI-CATHOLIC TENDENCIES OF GOVERNMENT—ECCLESIASTICS CONSCRIPTED—THE COUNTRY LESS PROSPEROUS THAN BEFORE—IMMORAL WRITINGS AND THEIR INJURIOUS EFFECTS—A PROJECT TO CONFISCATE THE CHARITABLE FOUNDATIONS—THE AMOUNT REALIZED BY GOVERNMENT FROM CHURCH PROPERTY—ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE THE FAITH OF THE NATION—EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL CHURCH—COLLAPSE OF THIS MOVEMENT—HOW LITTLE PERSECUTION BENEFITED THE NATION—ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE RELIGION FROM THE SCHOOLS—AGGREGATE OF THE PLUNDER OF THE CHURCH—THE STATE STILL BANKRUPT.

The most satisfactory proof in favor of the superiority of any form of government is the contentment of the people, the prosperity of the nation, and the diminution of crime. The former depends in a great measure on the burthens the subjects are called upon to bear, as the latter is an index of the state and condition of society. We have already seen how the taxation under the new regime had increased to threefold what it had been under the pontiff-king. It will be for us now to examine into the condition of the people as regards their criminal statistics. These are even more startling than the increased figures in the matter of taxation. According to the statistical tables laid before parliament at the commencement of 1875, the number of offenses against property from the beginning of 1869 to the commencement of 1870 were 18,526, while from 1871 to 1872 the number had increased to the enormous amount of 108,000! To such an extent were crimes against persons and property carried that government found it necessary at this juncture to pass a special law for the suppression of

brigandage. The foregoing figures, it has to be remembered, have reference to the entire country at large. But the increased ratio was not less startling in the case of the annexed Roman provinces, as the reader may judge from the accompanying tables furnished by the Procurator-General of his Majesty, Victor Emmanuel, on the 4th of January, 1875:

"Homicides, Assassinations, and Robberies committed in the province of new Rome, the capital of Italy, from the 1st of July, 1871, to the 1st of December, 1874—

1871.	Homicides.	Woundings.	Assaults.	Robberies.
	101.	945.	159.	1,085."

From the foregoing it is clear that crime had increased threefold between 1871 and 1874, the total number of criminal cases in the former year being 2250 and in the latter 7,293! What will give the reader a clearer idea of the deplorable condition of the country and the terrible increase of crime is the fact that at the beginning of 1875 Italy had more criminals detained in her prisons than England and France together, the number detained at that date in prison in England being 29,000 and in France 40,000, while in the case of new Italy the number of captives undergoing the penalties imposed on them for various crimes amounted to the enormous figure of 81,000!

The frequency and character of many of the atrocities committed was truly startling and appalling in the extreme. During the short period of the carnival of the year 1875, several horrible murders were perpetrated in open day. As many as seven persons fell victims to the fury of their murderers in the short period of four and twenty hours. One person was stopped when leaving a masked ball; another was mortally wounded by his companion in the Corso. On the 6th of February three murders were perpe-

trated; one being a young woman aged 26 slain by her lover in open day; the second, the brother of a married woman who interposed in behalf of his sister and was slain by the enraged husband; while the third was Signor Raffaele Sonzogno, editor of the "Capitale." The last was killed by a man who entered his office and stabbed him in the back, while seated at his desk. In short the catalogue of crime, of murder, robbery and violence of every description was frightful to contemplate. And this was what the new deliverers of the country brought to the capital of the nation!

The root of all this lawlessness and crime it is not difficult to discover. It lay to a great extent in the blasphemous and anti-Christian teaching of the times. Men who could recommend the glorification of the infernal spirits, and seriously propose to their dupes a grateful recognition of the services of Satan could hardly expect a better result. They were sowing the wind in order to reap the whirlwind. Low and debased, indeed, must the state of society have been when a journalist could write in the following terms in praise of the Demon: "Rejoice, O Satan, the day is near at hand when grateful humanity will erect to thee a trophy and inscribe beneath it: 'To Satan, god of the oppressed, health and glory.'" And again: "Satan the triumpher raises the poor against the rich by promising them wealth and empire, and excites the weak against the powerful by encouraging them to revolt against the Church and against kings. Satan the triumpher is the science which tramples on the revealed religions." And still again: "Satan the triumpher is the serpent who shakes off his back the foot of the virgin."

The anti-Catholic and anti-Christian tendencies of government showed themselves in other ways equally as offensive and hostile to Catholics, as in granting an immunity from punishment to such blasphemous writers as

the above. These were in the attempt to unchristianize the teaching of the youth of the nation To separate secular from religious instruction has ever been the effort of the prince of darkness. Especially in our days this evil device has been tried and unhappily with only too large a measure of success. It is not to be wondered at, then, that a government which had pratically ignored its obligations to God, which had been guilty of the greatest and most shameful injustice, which was plunging deeper daily into every species of crime, should have no affection for religious instruction and should attempt to eliminate it entirely from the curriculum of studies. The unwillingness, however of the parents to come into these views of the authorities compelled them in several instances to retain religion in the schools.

The conscription law applied to ecclesiastics was a further evidence of the unfairness and anti-Christian tendencies of government. On the 20th of May this measure became law, but with the permission that a substitute might be provided—a concession which was afterwards revoked and forced service made obligatory upon all. Still more objectionable and unworthy of government was the tax imposed by the authorities upon the charity of the sovereign pontiff, 13½ per cent. being levied upon the amount assigned by the Holy Father to the various bishops deprived by government of their respective incomes. The hardships of this proceeding lay principally in the fact that the bishops were not recognized as such by government, being driven out of their palaces and deprived of their revenues and yet taxed by the same authorities as bishops of the Catholic Church, and that for the alms they received! But to what result did all these measures tend? Was the country more prosperous; the people better circumstanced; crime diminished, and the national liabilities decreased? Far

from it. The monasteries, indeed, were plundered, the religious institutions appropriated and the alms of the faithful taxed, and yet the national debt rose in fifteen years, between 1860 and 1875, from 115 millions to 410 millions lire! This is the more significant considering the enormous amount of plunder realized by government, the entire being according to official statements from 1867 to 1875, 480,778,827 lire, or seventy millions more than the entire national debt. Still the country was not benefited. Want was at the doors of many, and even persons died in the streets of Rome from actual need, a thing unknown during the rule of the pontiffs.

As a fitting sequel to the measures above mentioned, the year 1875 closed by the preparation of a scheme for the administration of all the ecclesiastical property of the country. The main feature of this measure was that the laity in committees were to administer the property of ecclesiastics, a scheme which was intended to degrade the ecclesiastical body and to make them the slaves of their subordinates.

We have had already abundant proof of the anti-Catholic and anti-Christian tendencies of government, in banishing religion from the schools, in plundering the religious of their inherited properties, and in the unworthy and paltry proceeding of taxing the donations of the sovereign pontiff. A further illustration of the same deplorable fact was the shameful and demoralizing profanation of the Lord's day, not only permitted but perpetrated by the authorities. The employment on Sundays by the muncipality of Rome of hired laborers to carry on the public works, was an act of profanation and an insult to religion which none but those who were dead to all sense of responsibilty could be guilty of. Against so crying an outrage the cardinal-vicar complained in the strongest and most forcible

terms, urged to this, too, by the very pernicious influence that such an example was producing on the mind of the country at large. Hardly less injurious to religion was the publication and diffusion of immoral writings without any hindrance on the part of the authorities. Yea, even paid teachers of the state were guilty of this crime and sought by it to gain the favor of their masters. But what better could be expected from a government that would place under the control of suspended priests the inspection of episcopal seminaries. What better could be expected from a government which prohibited the ecclesiastical authorities from fixing the accustomed notices to the doors of the churches. And while acts of this kind were being perpetrated, government was openly and deliberately aiding and encouraging the sectaries in their efforts to undermine the faith of the people. The first article of the constitution, indeed, recognized the Catholic religion as the religion of the state, and yet this religion was the only one that seemed not to meet the attention or patronage of the government. For while Catholic schools and Catholic seminaries were closed by order of the authorities, Protestant places of instruction were suffered to exist and even endowed by the state. To what is this one-sided action to be attributed, except to the deep-seated anti-Christian sentiments of the rulers of the country. Nor was this anti-Catholic course adopted by government long in producing its legitimate results. It showed itself in different ways but especially in the marked insults offered by the infidel youth of the country to the most adorable eucharist when borne in public.

On the 20th of April a decree was issued by government appointing a commission of Deputies and Advocates, ostensibly for the purpose of reforming the charitable foundations of the country, but in reality for the purpose of obtain-

ing the funds of these institutes. The document reminds one forcibly of the reasons set forth by the despoilers of the church property in Great Britain at the period of the reformation. In effect the document speaks of directing those charities in accordance with the scope of the "new civilization and the altered condition of the times." It also speaks of "recalling these institutes to their principles, so far as they do not agree with the movement of modern civilization and necessities of the population, by modifying or arranging them according to an impartial, enlightened and provident spirit of charity." No one, not even the most credulous could be mistaken in the meaning of this language. Government wanted the property: it expected to realize by it twelve hundred million of francs or fifty million pounds sterling, and to obtain this a reason of some kind had to be assigned. That government should need to resort to such a measure, seems in a manner unaccountable; for up to the close of this year it had obtained from the sale of church property 515,807,103 lire and 8 centesimi, or £1,910,396. On the other hand when we consider the shameful manner in which the proceeds of the confiscated property was expended, it should not create any surprise that additional plunder should be contemplated. In fact, wonderful as it may appear, the country did not benefit in the smallest by the sale of the confiscated estates, the proceeds though enormous being barely sufficient to cover the expenses of the department established for that purpose. Nor is this to be a matter of surprise when we remember that in the year 1874 more than two millions of lire were spent in litigation, and more than seven millions for administering the property, while to degraded, suspended priests considerable sums were also granted. Thus the plundered moneys of the convents, religious and pious foundations, instead of being applied as was expected and promised, to the

benefit of the state at large, went to providing positions for those engaged in the work of destruction. The expelled religious, on the other hand, were allowed by government in some instances only 250 lire each annually, and in others only 144, or ten pounds for the former and about four pounds ten shillings for the later. On this they were supposed to provide for all their wants.

It was not enough for the government of unificated Italy to deprive the religious of all their ecclesiastical property and to banish them from their religious institutions, but, to fill to over-flowing the measure of iniquity, it was sought to detach the entire clergy from their allegiance to the Chair of Peter and thereby to form a national church. The first openly avowed indication of this was in the beginning of August of the year 1876, in a letter written by the then chancellor of the kingdom, Signor Mancini, in answer to a communication from Signor Porta Giurleo, president of the Emancipation Society, who also styled himself vicar-general, asking that measures be taken for detaching the Church from the state and forming a national creed. The Minister replied that a law having for its object a measure of that kind was in course of preparation by government. But at the same time he was careful to intimate that in a matter of so delicate a nature the utmost caution would be required. "The manifestation of the popular wishes," wrote the Chancellor, "respecting the choice of the ministers and pastors must first be propagated in the way of facts by spontaneous impulse and by the moral force of pious and believing conscience, and when these facts become general and frequent then it will be the duty of the civil power to intervene for the purpose of regulating and securing the sincerity and independence of such elections, without prejudice to the rights of the ecclesiastical institutions." The main feature of the scheme was to be the appointment of ecclesiastics to

benefices by the popular vote independent of the authority of the bishops. This, as is clear, was striking at the root of all disciplinary order, detaching the clergy from obedience to their lawfully constituted ecclesiastical superiors, and making them the creatures and slaves of their congregations —the laity. Incongruous, however, as the system was, and hostile in its nature to the first principles of Catholic unity and discipline, it yet received the warm approval of government, was recognized as a national benefit, and had assigned to it an appropriation from the national funds; while its originator was styled with the ominous title of "vicar-general of the national church." So dangerous a movement, it is hardly necessary to remark, received the immediate attention of the proper ecclesiastical authorities, and was formally condemned by the sovereign pontiff.

The condemnation had the desire effect, the Church's voice was heard, the scheme found no favor with the country and it had to be abandoned. But though government could not destroy the national faith it could at least destroy the existence of monastic institutions. It was not enough that it had appropriated all the available funds of the religious communities, but so utterly anti-Catholic and anti-Christian were its tendencies that the very presence of religious existing in common was offensive and unbearable to it. Hence in the month of September the Minister of Worship fulminated another document, alluding to the fact that in many provinces monastic vows had been lately taken in opposition to the existing laws, and declaring that the religious so offending would, when discovered, be visited with the penalties prescribed. There could be no mistaking the spirit that prompted that proclamation. The religious life was hateful to the free-thinkers of Italy who were then at the head of affairs. And it was from a like spirit that orders were issued for the prohibition of religious proces-

sions even when these could in no sense interfere with any of the duties or rights of the government.

It may be now proper to consider to what extent this persecution of religion on the part of the government tended to benefit the nation. The most ardent advocates of that policy, it is agreeable to remember, were forced to acknowledge that it had failed in its object. The "Diretto," a journal in the interests of the government, confessed as much. "The government," said a writer in that organ (March, 1877), "has created by its policy two societies, one religious the other lay, which instead of agreeing and harmonizing tend to neutralize and destroy each other. A nation in such a condition ends by feeling itself devoid of soul and spirit. The interior schism in the very life of conscience, the dualism between the principles of religion and the institutions and ideas of practical life, *destroy all the power and vigor of the nation* and render it impossible for it to advance or, perchance, even to exist. This religion, which we in Italy affect to mock at and deride is in reality the most active power which can be imagined . . . . Nothing can equal or form a substitute for this religion, nor can its place be taken by labor, self-interest, domestic affections, patriotism or philosophy." Nothing could be plainer and franker than this and yet such was the blindness and intolerance of the governing powers that at that very date the Minister of Worship, Signor Mancini, was preparing a bill for the destruction of that very Church without which it was so frankly acknowledged by a member of his own party the country could not be prosperous. To accomplish so nefarious a scheme, the Minister relied partly on the power of the reptile fund, whereby home and foreign journals were kept in his interests by being subsidized to the extent of thousands of lire per month; the "Gazette d'Italia" being in the recept of 5,000 monthly. For the accomplishment of

this purpose the Minister also looked for partial assistance to the unedited writings of the revolutionary leaders in the history of the past. Accordingly to this end the unedited documents referring to the contest between the Church and state in the past, were ordered to be printed at the public expense so as to enable the government to obtain favor for its scheme in the eyes of the community. Meanwhile every imaginable effort was made to lower, degrade and dishonor the priesthood. Not only were the clergy prohibited living together in conventual life and imprisoned for not violating the laws of the Church when government so ordered;* but they were even compelled to labor in the capacity of the lowest menials in the construction of the public roads. To undermine the faith in the minds of the little ones a daring effort was made to enforce godless education in all the schools; but in this the authorities were not so successful. The Italian people had yet a sufficient sense of religion to rebel againt so nefarious a measure. In Turin the peasants to the number of 11,487 declared in favor of religious instruction, while only 397, who were Jews or Atheists pronounced against it. Still government in the face of this overwhelming majority resolved upon excluding the religion on the pretense of respecting the feelings of the minority! Much more reasonable would it have been to have respected the feelings and will of the majority, but government was anti-Christian and therefore the course it adopted. Nor did it stop at that. Hence, at Genoa the municipal authorities not only excluded the catechism from the schools but supplied its place by a work of their own which every pupil, on pain of being excluded, was bound to use. Throughout the country at large, however, owing to the unanimity and earnest desire of the parents, the government had to permit the teaching of religion in the schools. But

* Feb. 17, 1877.

with that modification that practically it could hardly be called teaching it at all. For this instruction, such as it was, was confined to two days in the week and then to be learned merely by rote, without any comment or explanation on the part of the teacher. The following circular issued by the Assessor of Public Instruction in the Roman municipality sufficiently explains this: "In teaching the catechism the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses are to make their pupils learn it by rote and to abstain from all comment or explanation. In the course of the ordinary lessons, when not only Catholics may be present but also Israelites, non-Catholics, and those children whose parents shall not have made any request for religious instruction, the teachers not only may but must freely speak to the pupils concerning those fundamental verities on which all civilized nations are agreed, but they must at the same time, abstain from dogmatical specifications and distinctions which might offend this or that religious belief, considering that the school may, indeed, concur in the religious education of the young, but that the principal part of religious education belongs to the family and to the priests of each persuasion." Such religious instruction as that, it is clear, was equivalent to none; and yet that is all that was granted by government, though four-fifths of the parents of the nation demanded a proper and thorough education for their children.

In a like spirit were all the other acts of the government, regarding the Church and her ministers, conceived and carried out. There was even in many of these a smallness, meanness, and irreligion which clearly betokened the spirit and character of the rulers. What for instance could be smaller than for government to prohibit its subordinates to take part in the rejoicings for the election of Leo XIII., while what more irreligious and indic-

ative of utter unbelief than the prohibition of processions in honor of the most adorable eucharist? And what was the result of all that manner of legislation? Atheism became rampant in the country; the public security was greatly diminished; taxation rose to an enormous extent; and the country, after the government having plundered the Church to the extent of 538,387,649 lire, was on the verge of bankruptcy. Such was the condition of Italy on the 1st of January 1879, after a struggle against religion for a period of eight years, in which every effort was made to reduce the Church to the condition of a slave to the state.

CHAPTER XIX.

PERSECUTION IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AMERICA—SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES—PERSECUTION IN GUATEMALA—BARRIOS AS PRESIDENT PERSECUTES THE CHURCH—HIS TREATMENT OF HONORABLE CITIZENS—EXPULSION OF THE RELIGIOUS AND CONFISCATION OF THEIR PROPERTY—SEVERAL OF THEM REPAIR TO SAN FRANCISCO AND ARE HOSPITABLY RECEIVED.

The persecution of religion in our days has not been confined to the countries just spoken of. On this side the Atlantic, too, in Central and Southern America, the demon of intolerance has stirred up the powers that be and engaged them to perpetrate the most shameful atrocities against the religion of Christ. In the republic of Guatemala, especially, religion has suffered at the hands of her enemies. From the moment that country achieved its independence in 1821 the condition of religion has been very precarious. Six years after the yoke of Spain was shaken off, a liberal government was formed, one of whose first acts was an invasion of the Church's most sacred rights. The religious were expelled, their property confiscated, and the people deprived of their long-cherished guides and friends. Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Carmelites, and Recollects were of the number thus unscrupulously and barbarously driven forth from the land of their nativity, for no other or better reason than the fact of their being servants of God and desirous of saving their immortal souls in prayer and retirement. Some of these exiled religious proceeded to Spain, others to Havana, while others again sought a home in the neighboring republic of Mexico. As regarded their expulsion the poor plea could not be put forward by government

that they lived only for self, for some of them were employed in teaching the useful arts, while others, as the Recollects, the Franciscans and Dominicans, were engaged in conducting numerous missions. The fact, however, that they represented a detachment from all worldly things and a faithful adherence to the service of God, was what was distasteful to the authorities and hence their expulsion. An avaricious greed, too, for the wealth possessed by these various communities and which was employed for ministering to the wants of the poor, was a further incentive in inducing their suppression for, in this manner a considerable amount of property, to the extent of between one and two million dollars' worth, fell into the hands of the government. The archbishop was also expelled and died in exile in the island of Cuba.

One year later these atrocious proceedings were reversed; for, at that date, 1830, a conservative government came into office, when the expelled religious were permitted to return, and had restored to them the estates of which they were deprived, except those purchased by private individuals. From that time, for the next forty years, up to 1870, there was no persecution in the country. Religion, meantime, flourished, and was respected by all; but in 1870 there began a reign of oppression and tyranny which has hardly a counterpart in modern history, except, indeed, in the ruthless persecution within the same period in Germany and Italy of which we have given an account.

The evils that were brought upon the Church within this period are to be attributed to the lust for power of an ambitious pretender to the presidency, Garcia Grenados. This man, aided by a kindred spirit, Senor Barrios, a bold, unscrupulous, profligate man, who had been a writer in one of the government offices, succeeded in attaining the post of president. In recompense for the services rendered, Barrios

was made general-in-chief of the army. But a more unfortunate appointment for the president himself could not have been made; for the unscrupulous abettor no sooner found himself in a position, than he employed the power at his command to undermine the authority of his master, and to lift himself into office—a work in which he but too readily succeeded, for in 1873 he attained to the office of president instead of Grenados. From that moment the Church has been persecuted most shamefully and perseveringly by this unscrupulous man. Even before his election to the office of president, while yet only general-in-chief of the forces, he showed his hostility to religion by obtaining from the government the expatriation of the Jesuit Fathers, who to the number of seventy were expelled from the country and took refuge in the neighboring territory of Nicaragua.

The way in which the rights and liberties of the people in general were dealt with, by this modern tyrant, was hardly less oppressive and unconstitutional. While his predecessor in office still occupied the presidential chair, Barrios and his master appointed an Assembly of their own and had the audacity to write to the mayors of the various localities commanding them to have duly elected those whose names they submitted—a work which was accordingly done by the people under the fear of displeasing the tyrants. In doing this, however, the people were little aware how dangerous was the step they were taking, how they were throwing out of their hands the only defense of their liberties—their constitutional rights, and thus riveting upon themselves the chains of the most terrible despotism. At that date the country was in the enjoyment of a liberal constitution, but its character being of too restrictive a kind for the irresponsible rulers, the newly appointed members were ordered to frame a different code. They did so, but the instrument not being to the taste of the tyrants, was dis-

carded by Grenados and Barrios, who still insisted upon the Assembly furnishing a document according to their desires. Instead, however, of complying, the members, in gratitude for their own personal position, voted the sum of $120,000 to the president and the commander-in-chief! Having done this they retired to their homes! Since then the country has remained without any constitutional law, and is governed according to the whims and fancies of an irresponsible ruler!

Barrios upon reaching the presidential office, was not slow in showing his hatred of all that was Catholic. One of his first acts was the banishment of the various religious communities and the confiscation of their property which amounted to close on two millions of dollars. He did not stop at that; his love of plunder led him still further and caused him to confiscate the property of the parochial churches, the sacred vessels in some instances having been sacrilegiously appropriated by this modern Balthazar. Even the orphan children of the community became the victims of his rapacity; for he confiscated their property, and sent adrift upon the world the religious who had them in charge. The same fate awaited all the other benevolent institutions. The religious in every instance were expelled, and their places taken by lay appointees of government; but so inefficient were these found in the discharge of their duties that the religious had to be recalled and reinstated in their former positions. The main object, however, was accomplished, which was the possession of their property which was not restored.

As in the case of every tyrant, Barrios was aware of how heartily he was hated by the people, and to save himself against the dangers that constantly threatened him on all sides, he appointed a number of spies whom he liberally rewarded out of the funds of the community.

This naturally led to all manner of excesses and injustice. Desirous of ingratiating themselves in their master's favor and proving to him the importance of their services, these men of questionable character reported all manner of tales to him. The virtuous in consequence suffered in numerous instances, the greatest injustice at the hands of the tyrant. On the mere assertions and unsupported evidence of these secret informers, Barrios imprisoned and exiled honorable citizens against whom there was not a shadow of proof of their guilt. Thus on the plea that they were conspiring against his authority, he had arrested, cast into prison, and finally banished from the country Signors Saturnino Tinico, Miguel Ortiez, Rammon Aguirre, Xavier Orellanio and Rafæl Batres. The last mentioned, for having had the courage to ask for proof of his guilt, received in return two hundred blows, the others being subjected to the degrading indignity of being led in chains through the public streets of Guatemala, as the worst of malefactors. Thus a reign of terror was inaugurated, so that no one was sure of his life or property for an hour. The same unscrupulous violence was carried out in regard to the members of the secular clergy. From no quarter could the tyrant brook the smallest opposition to his usurped authority. For having protested against the unjust proceedings constantly enacted by government, Doctor Espinosa, the exiled archbishop's representative, was banished from the country and took refuge in San Francisco. That worthy ecclesiastic's successor, was so worried by government, that it brought him to a premature grave.

Not only did Barrios through fear of imaginary conspiracies deprive of their legitimate rights and banish from the country honorable and law-abiding citizens, but his smallness of mind and littleness of soul appeared to still

greater disadvantage in the liberty he allowed himself in taking private revenge on those whose individual characters were distasteful to his feelings. Thus a member of the legal profession, for no other crime than that of being procurator for one of the disbanded religious communities, was placed in the position of a menial attendant and employed in furnishing fodder to the president's horses. Two other respectable gentlemen for the supposed crime of smiling derisively, were ordered to be dressed as soldiers and made to act as grooms to the commissioned officers. On less plausible grounds a still greater offense was offered to a respectable clergyman, his crime being that of not recognizing in public the tyrant, for which imaginary insult he was subjected to the utmost indignity. He was placed bareheaded on his knees in the street facing Barrios' residence, with a guard of soldiers holding their bayoneted muskets under his chin that his head might not for a moment droop or his face be diverted from the president's windows. In this painful and humiliating position, with a tropical sun casting its scorching rays upon his uncovered, head the unhappy victim was made to remain for several hours. Occasionally the cruel tyrant would step on his balcony and reproaching the venerable ecclesiastic would accost him in the words—"Do you know me now?" "Will you recognise me when you meet me again?" etc.

Another instance of the brutal tyrant's irresponsible, whimsical proceedings is furnished in the case of a lawyer who was ordered by him to draw up a deed of conveyance of some ecclesiastical property belonging to a convent of expatriated religious. In the deed the words, "untill the return of the religious, should they ever come back," were inserted, and for this supposed contempt of authority, the unhappy man drew upon himself the president's gravest

displeasure. It was of no avail that he pleaded that the words were only a formulary and could be readily removed. Barrios was too highly offended, and in mockery for the lawyer's supposed sympathy for the exiled religious, he had him clothed as a priest and cast into prison. Daily he was conducted into the president's presence and ordered, with ironical gravity, to proceed to the convent, accompanied by guards, and to see if the religious had returned. For months this farce was continued, and when at the end of half a year, the lawyer was told that he might remove his ecclesiastical costume and return to his home, he politely informed his tormentor that he had resolved upon keeping it; that having reflected during his period of incarceration upon the vanity of all human things, he had determined to abandon the world and to enter into the ecclesiastical state —a resolution which he subsequently carried into effect. How marvellous and incomprehensible are not the ways of God! How strangely He draws to His service holy souls!

The circumstances attending the expulsion of the religious from their respective convents, stamp the proceedings of Barrios as the most dictatorial and tyrannical of modern times. Without the smallest warning or intimation of what was about to happen, the president on a certain date burst into the principal Capuchin convent, took possession of the premises, and ordered the inmates to immediately depart for the city of Mexico, without allowing them to take with them, for their journey, a single object of value or use. Finding themselves surrounded by a military guard, who had orders to prevent any one approaching, and who were even commanded to fire on the laity if they dared to transgress these instructions, the Fathers found themselves under the necessity of promptly obeying. The sympathy that their presence awakened as they emerged from their beloved retreat, where many of them had spent

the greater part of their lives and grown gray in the service of God, was such that the people, unmindful of personal danger, in an outburst of affection and gratitude, rushed unthinkingly forward and cast themselves at the feet of their benefactors. The movement was a signal for the military to fire upon them, when three fell to the ground wounded, one mortally. Thus did Barrios add murder to injustice while carrying out his inhuman policy of expelling inoffensive men from their native soil, for no other reason than because they wore the habits of religious, and desired to lead an humble secluded life in the practice of every Christian virtue. The same orders of shooting down any who approached the religious on the way, were confirmed to the officer in charge of the party. With the view of making the journey more embarrassing, the exiles were ordered to proceed by land to their final destination, and as the means of locomotion were very imperfect and many of the religious being aged, the programme if carried into effect must necessarily have resulted in the death of many of the party. Foreseeing this an effort was made by some pious, thoughtful members of the community, who so far succeeded as to obtain from the president a change of the route, when the exiles were ordered to proceed by the shortest way to the nearest seaport, whence they should proceed to their final destination. On the way they passed through several villages, but on arriving in each they were placed in line and, headed by a trumpeter, were made to march around the public square as so many malefactors, the inhabitants at the same time being ordered not to dare to approach or speak to any of them under the penalty of being fired upon. It would be difficult to conceive the inconvenience, the hardships, the trials that these holy confessors for the faith were thus barbarously subjected to by the cruel tyrant, particularly as many of them were much ad-

vanced in years. The length of the journey and the exposure to the inclemency of the weather caused their limbs to swell and induced chills, fever and ague, from which they suffered severely, so that by the time they reached the coast and went aboard, they were fairly exhausted and barely able to stand. Some even fainted on board the vessel, overcome by extreme prostration. The sufferings they thus endured for religion's sake were not unattested by a visible manifestation of God's divine pleasure. The youngest of the company, a boy of fifteen years, had been subject to epilepsy. His case was so distressing and hopeless that the Fathers advised him to return to his home, and to abandon the idea of becoming a religious. The youth was unwilling and resolved on accompanying the religious wherever they went. His fidelity was richly rewarded, for from the moment that he put his foot aboard the vessel which was to conduct the party from their native land, he never after suffered from his accustomed sickness.

The expulsion of the Capuchins, it is proper to remark, was not in the power of Barrios, had they deemed it prudent to resist. For had they only permitted it, the Indians would have defended them to the last and prevented their departure. Nothing was easier than this, for while the whole of Barrios forces consisted only of from four to five hundred armed troops the Indian population amounted to some 600,000 souls or about two thirds of the entire population of the country. On the part of these, one of the chiefs solicited permission to prevent the religious' departure, but this the Fathers would by no means agree to. If they could not remain without the force of arms, they were willing to submit to their destiny and to endure for God's sake the sufferings imposed on them by their tormentors.

The same unjust measures and the same admirable spirit

of humility and submission was manifested in the case of the expulsion of the Dominicans. These, too, were highly popular with the people and would have been defended by them had they permitted it. In fact during the two years previous to their departure and while the decree of expulsion was impending over them, the people were constantly on the alert and determined to resist by violence any attempt at removing them A single word or sign would have been sufficient for the inhabitants to interpose between them and their oppressors. But nothing of the kind would be thought of by the Fathers. As in the case of their brother-religious, the Capuchins, they preferred to submit meekly to the orders of the tyrant, leaving in the hands of divine providence the regulation of their destiny.

The scene at their departure was the most affecting ever witnessed in the country. As they emerged from the gate of their convent, clad in the robes of their order, the people in numbers crowded around them, caught them by their garments and implored them beseechingly not to abandon the country. Meantime, the troops of the president were under arms and stationed at a short distance with orders to fire on the people in case of resistance. This happened in the evening; that night the religious remained at the bishop's residence and next morning at 3 o'clock they took their departure for the coast whence they were to be borne into exile. The sympathy and affection of the people were even more demonstrative at this moment than on the previous evening when the religious quitted their beloved retreat. Old and young, good and bad seemed moved alike and all but inconsolable at the loss they were suffering in the departure of the Fathers. It was a scene worthy of the primitive, apostolic age and expressive of the deepest sentiments of the Christian love and affection of a people for their clergy when all with one accord

threw themselves on their knees and, with tears of sorrow in their eyes, bade adieu to their beloved benefactors. Nor was this the only expression of love manifested towards them. All along the route similar scenes were enacted, the people every-where falling on their knees and testifying by their words and tears the great sorrow they felt at the religious' departure from the country. Though not their own doing, yet they feared that God would punish them for the outrages thus perpetrated against his faithful religious. This sentiment was favored and confirmed by an occurrence which seemed to indicate the divine displeasure. At the very moment that the decree for the expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers was signed by the authorities of Esquitta, a fearful thunder-storm burst over the locality and the lightning in its destructive career detached the tops of a number of aged cocoa-nut trees which stood in the court-yard. Whether this was a special indication of God's divine displeasure or the result of an ordinary occurrence of nature, it would not be easy to say. But the coincidence was so remarkable and noteworthy that it deeply affected the people and caused them to fear for their safety. On reaching the sea coast the Dominican Fathers found before them on the beach one hundred and fifty Capuchin religious guarded by one hundred and fifty soldiers. Thus these holy, venerable men were barbarously treated and most shamefully expelled from their native land, for no other crime than that of wearing the livery of their divine Master and devoting themselves wholly to the spiritual requirements of their neighbor. From the coast they proceeded to San Francisco where they were hospitably received both by the clergy and laity and provided with everything necessary for their immediate wants. In behalf of the Capuchins a fair was inaugurated in the city gardens

at which the considerable sum of $20,000 was realized. Thus did the good people of California express in a most practical way their condemnation of the course pursued by the Guatemalian president in expelling those faithful religious.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION—THE MARTYRS UNDERMINED BY THEIR SUFFERINGS THE PREJUDICES OF PAGANISM AGAINST CHRISTIANITY—SPECIMEN OF ATHENAGORAS' REASONING AGAINST THE FALSE GODS—HOW THE CHURCH REVERES THE MARTYRS' MEMORY—TO WHOM THE HONORS OF MARTYRDOM ARE TO BE ESPECIALLY AWARDED—THE LABORS OF THE THREE GREAT MISSIONARY ORDERS, VIZ., THE DOMINICANS, THE FRANCISCANS, AND THE JESUITS.

We have now seen in what has been said in this and the preceding volume how the Church of God has been contradicted, opposed and persecuted by the powers of the world in every age and in almost every conceivable manner from the moment of her establishment by her divine Founder down to the present. We have also seen how, under the most varied circumstances and in divers lands, millions of her children of all ranks, classes and conditions of life have voluntarily given their lives in defense of her doctrines. The aggregate number of those who have thus illustrated by their sufferings and death the Church of the Redeemer no man can tell. This is a great and profound secret reserved to God and his elect, and to be made known only on the final, accounting day, when in the presence of all the children of Adam, and of all the angels of heaven, the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, the crimes of all nations made manifest, and when the efforts of each individual in behalf of divine truth shall be honored with a fitting and adequate reward. Then and not till then will the world understand how much it cost the Church of God to preserve intact for the sanctification of souls those all-saving truths intrusted to her keeping by her heavenly Founder. Then and not till then will the wisdom that dic-

tated the sacrifice of so many generous lives be thoroughly vindicated, and adequate honor and homage rendered by men to the cause and principles espoused by the martyrs of Christ. For then, according to the testimony of the sacred writer, the unbelievers shall cry out and exclaim: "Hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum et in similitudinem improperii. Nos insensati vitam illorum æstimabamus insaniam et finem illorum sine honore: ecce quomodo computati sunt inter filios Dei et inter sanctos sors illorum est"—"These are they whom we had sometime in derision and for a parable of reproach. We fools esteemed their life madness and their end without honor. Behold how they are numbered among the children of God and their lot is among the saints." *

But though no adequate statistical tables can be here appended of the numbers of the martyrs in every age, from the fact that no such account has ever been taken and does not exist, yet the general deduction to be drawn from all that we have seen is, without doubt, that not only during the first three hundred years of the Church's checkered existence but afterwards and in the most widely separated regions of the globe, down to the present, hundreds of thousands and millions have sealed their faith by the effusion of their blood. In Japan and the Corea, alone, these numbers amounted, as we have shown, to between two and three millions; in Persia and Armenia they are to be counted by hundreds of thousands; while in Ireland, faithful Ireland, out of the entire population only a mere remnant was left. Nor can it be said that the causes which led to the sufferings and death of the faithful in this instance, were more civil than religious in their character. For every one who is at all conversant with the history, the spirit and temper of that period, every one who knows anything of the hatred

* Wisdom, chap. 5., v. 3-5.

and antipathy of Protestantism from the days of Elizabeth till the accession of George, must freely acknowledge that the excesses, the cruelties, and slaughter committed in Ireland at the command and by the authority and approval of the English rulers, were more the result of religious than national hatred—more with the view of eradicating the Catholic faith and substituting in its stead the Protestant creed, than for the purpose of territorial extension. Hence the faithful Irish Catholics who died on Irish soil, confronting English soldiers, or who perished in foreign penal settlements, Barbadoes or elsewhere, whither they were banished by their cruel, unrelenting conquerors, are as truly to be regarded as martyrs or confessors for the faith of Christ as those who under the Roman emperors met a speedy or protracted death either under the ax of the executioner or in the inhospitable regions whither they were deported.

The questions that now present themselves here are, how far, even in the eyes of the world, have the martyrs been justified, how far is it acknowledged they were right, and to what an extent did their dying for the faith influence society and benefit religion? The answer to the first, is found in the fact of the withdrawal of the charges made against the religion.* And herein is to be found the fullest and most satisfactory vindication of those principles and of that cause for which the martyrs suffered and died. Time has thus established, what passion and prejudice prevented men from seeing at first. It took indeed a considerable period to accomplish this. For full three hundred years, the most enlightened people were of opinion that the Christians were at fault and gravely

* For a long time it was believed that the Christians worshipped an ass' head, that they feasted off blood and flesh of slaughtered infants, and were guilty of the greatest indecencies at their banquets.

to blame for not conforming to the will of the ruler, for not falling down and worshipping the gods of Rome as required by the law, and in not swearing by the majesty and genius of Cæsar. It mattered not that their inability to comply with so unreasonable a demand was forcibly and lucidly stated by their representative men, by the apologists who explained their position. It mattered not that these demonstrated from history and poesy that the gods of the empire were merely imaginary deities, myths created by the fancies of the vulgar, or at best, merely illustrious men. The pagans of the time could not, or would not understand such reasoning as the following addressed to them by Athenagoras, through their emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Commodus: "But it is necessary perhaps, in accordance with what has already been adduced to say a little about their (the gods) name. Heredotus then, and Alexander the son of Philip in his letter to his mother (and each of them is said to have conversed with the priests at Hierapolis and Memphis and Thebes) affirm that they heard from them that the *gods had been men.* And who can be more deserving of credit in making these statements than those who in family succession, son from father, received not only the priesthood, but also the history! For it is not likely that the priests who make it their business to commend the idols to men's reverence, would assert falsely that they were men. If Heredotus alone had said that the Egyptians spoke in their histories of the gods as of men, it would behove us not to credit Heredotus, as being a fabulist. But as Alexander and Hermes, surnamed Trismegistus, who shares with them in the attribute of eternity, and innumerable others not to name them individually, declare the same, no room is left for doubt that they being kings were esteemed gods. That they were men, the most learned of the Egyptians

also testify, who while saying ether, earth, sun and moon are gods, regard the rest as mortal men and the temples as their sepulchres. Apollodorus, too, asserts the same thing in his treatise concerning the gods." The apologist then goes on to establish the same from the writings of the poets namely from Homer, Hesiod and Pindar. Thus of Heracles, the first-mentioned speaks:

"That lawless wretch *that man* of brutal strength,
Deaf to Heaven's voice the social rite transgressed."

"Such," continues the Apologist, "being his nature (i. e. mortal), deservedly did he go mad, and deservedly did he light the funeral pile and burn himself to death. Of Asklepius, Hesiod says:

"The mighty father both of gods and men,
Was filled with wrath and from Olympus' top,
With flaming thunderbolt cast down and slew
Latona's well-lov'd son, such was his ire."

And Pindar:

"But even wisdom is ensnared by gain;
The brilliant bribe of gold seen in the hand
Even him perverted: therefore Kronas' son.
With both hands quickly stopped his vital breath,
And by a bolt of fire ensured his doom."

"Either then," concludes Athenagoras, "they were gods and did not hanker after gold, for the deity is in want of nought and is superior to carnal desire, and did not die; or having been born men they were wicked by reason of ignorance and overcome by love of money. What more need I say, or shall I refer to Castor and Pollux or Amphiorus who, having been born so to speak only the other day, men of men, are looked upon as gods, and is not even Ino herself after her madness and the cruel sorrows resulting therefrom honored to-day as a goddess." And again in another place

after establishing from the writings of the sages that the gods were not from the beginning, water being admittedly the source and origin of all things, he reasons thus: "If then the gods came into existence not having previously had any existence, they are not gods at all, they do not exist as such. For what is created is perishable and not divine, the uncreated alone being eternal and consequently God." But reasoning of this kind was to a great extent lost upon men who regarded the very name of Christian as a crime, and as a sufficient justification for the perpetration of all manner of violence and severity against those meek followers of a crucified Savior. In vain then did such men, as Athenagoras, Aristides, Quadratus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Origen, plead the cause of the faithful. The mind of the multitude was to a great extent entirely closed against every appeal of reason and every argument of truth. Slowly, however, prejudice subsided; the cloud passed from before the minds of the unbelievers; and the old standing charges of Atheism, Thyestian feasts and Œdipodean intercourse were acknowledged to be unfounded. Then it was that the pagan Roman world began to look upon the Church and her claims in a different light. A disposition was then formed of allowing her to explain her cause and to state her case. And this was all that was needed for success, for once impartially examined, the claims, and principles of religion are certain to be admitted and accepted. Thus the errors, the vices and polytheism of pagan Rome gave way, were undermined and wholly disappeared before the power, the influence and light of Christian philosphy. But what was it that weakened the prejudices of ages, that created the first germs of sympathy in the minds of the idolators for the followers of Christ and obtained for religion a patient and favorable hearing before the bar of pagan unbelief? Was it the learning and ability of her defenders?

Was it the writings of the apologists whose names we have just mentioned? These may, indeed, have had a little to do with it, but it was exceedingly little, for these explanations were not generally read by the multitude. Was it then, by the lucid and convincing reasons set forth by the ministers of the divine word in the services of the Church, that the ear of the multitude was caught and an avenue opened for the communication of divine truth. By no means, for during the first 130 years of the Church's existence, she was regarded merely as a sect and had no places of public worship in the imperial city, where in the presence of the multitude she could address herself to the reason and intelligence of her pagan hearers.* Whatever was done in that manner was effected mainly in a quiet, secret, unobtrusive way in the secret services of the faithful. What then was it, we ask, that obtained a favorable hearing for Christianity before the pagan Roman multitude? What enabled her to plead her cause successfully before the community? Most assuredly the sufferings, the endurance, the death of the martyrs. The arena of the coliseum was the first public place where Christianity was allowed to explain her case. It was there she was first listened to by the unbelievers, and nobly and effectively did she plead her cause, not indeed in words, but in deeds and such deeds as eventually awakened the sympathies and extorted the admiration of the assembled thousands. And what is true of Rome may be also said in like manner of nearly every other place, for wherever Christianity found a home, the sufferings, the endurance and blood of the martyrs was the great argument which invariably carried conviction to the minds of the people when every other appeal from reason and religion had failed in the same. To the martyrs then under God we are indebted in a very par-

* Formation of Christianity by Allies, p. 234.

ticular manner for the blessings attending the introduction and spread of divine truth among the nations of the world. It was not, however, solely by their patient endurance of suffering and cheerful acceptance of death, rather than abandon their religious convictions, that the world was awakened to a sense of its error and drawn to an acceptance of truth. The miracles, too, performed by the Almighty in behalf of his servants when testifying to his divine law, operated in like manner most powerfully upon the mind of the multitude. Hence the accounts of the numbers brought to a knowledge of God by witnessing the marvellous interposition of the Deity, now in causing the savage beast to forget his natural ferocity, now causing the elements of nature to withhold their destructive powers, and anon causing the instruments of torture to be broken and shattered to pieces at the prayers of the sufferers. Who then, recalling these circumstances, can fail to rejoice at the glory, the honor and advantage conferred on the world by the martyred children of the Church of God? Who can contemplate the millions, who in primitive and subsequent ages have died for the faith, and not be convinced that to their merits and endurance, more than to anything else, have the rich favors of God been poured out upon his Church and the precious treasures of divine faith communicated to the unbelieving. Well indeed, has it been said that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of Christianity." And not only has the sufferings of the faithful been the vehicle for the communication of divine truth, not only has it been a powerful and irrefragable argument which no infidel philosopher could satisfactorily explain, and no cynical heathen could afford to despise, but it has been, at the same time the means appointed by God for the preservation of his truths and the conservation of morals. Nothing more clearly establishes this than the fact that the periods

of peaceful prosperity, have been uniformly the periods of religious disorder, aberrations of intellect, and corruption of morals. Not to seek for any other examples, the instances assigned by Saints Cyprian and Eusebius, as given in the first part of this work, are ample and abundant evidence. Much then as opppression and violence are to be deplored, they are, considering the evil and corrupt tendencies of our common nature, necessary evils. They are the salt wherewith the Almighty preserves from corruption in faith and morals, the body of the faithful.

In the history of the past, in her encounters with the powers of darkness, no more pleasing and grateful recollections recur to the mind of the Church than those connected with the history of her martyrs. Countless associations of the most thrilling and soul-inspiring character cluster around their venerated names. The very places where they shed their blood, where they died and conquered, are held by her in the highest veneration; the garments they wore when they encountered the enemy, are treasured up by her in her deposit of sacred things; while as a testimony of acknowledgment for the services rendered to her cause and as an incitement to induce us to tread in their footprints she raises upon her altars and exposes to the veneration of the faithful the mangled remains of those faithful champions who were the objects of the tyrants' rage and the world's hatred. Let the traveller then to Rome visit the shrines of the Apostles, let him gratify his legitimate curiosity by inspecting those wondrous productions of genius and art for which the capital of Christendom is so especially remarkable; but let him not fail to repair to the hoary Coliseum, where in the presence of the entire Roman people the battle against our holy religion was first begun, and, aided by the grace and power of the Most High, most perseveringly carried on until by dint of suffering, lavish

profusion of life and the force of heavenly miracles, the faith had finally triumphed—the truth was seen and paganism was overcome. There, in the chronicles of that bloody arena, in the history of that venerable pile, doubly sacred by being raised by Christian hands, confessors for the faith, and sanctified by the blood of countless martyrs whose mangled forms seem to encounter one on every side—the Christian traveller will learn a lesson of bravery, will encounter a chapter of daring and courage not to be equalled by anything to be met with in the annals of the world. There he will learn how the tender youths, the timid maidens, and aged fathers stood forth undauntedly before all the power of imperial Rome and continued to attest by their sufferings and lives to the truth of the principles and cause they had espoused, until by the very prodigality of their sufferings a conviction was created in the minds of their enemies that surely so much endurance could not be of man but must be of God. Let nations and empires then rejoice in the conquests their children have gained for them; let them hold in grateful remembrance and treasure up as amongst the most precious and important of their records the history of the labors and sufferings of those who have defended their liberties and preserved their existence. But more gratefully and feelingly still shall the Church of the Redeemer hold in undying remembrance and make known to posterity the noble and unappreciable services rendered to the cause of divine truth by that grand, undaunted army of her faithful children, who, cross in hand, have for the last 1800 years and upwards marched unhesitatingly onward, from victory to victory, from conquest to conquest, until religion was established all over the globe. Ah, what sentiments of gratitude for the memory of the martyrs should fill our breasts and animate our affections, as

looking back upon the past we behold the prejudices of every people, the errors of every race, the hatred of every tyrant, giving way and being conquered by these faithful battalions of the Church's sacred cause!

And what happened in this manner in the case of pagan nations has also happened in the instance of Christian oppressors. Have not the charges of Protestantism against Catholicity been in most instances either entirely withdrawn or largely abandoned? Who now, for instance, asserts with Cranmer that the Catholic Church is the "cursed synagogue of anti-Christ;" with Ridley that she is the "Beast of Babylon;" with Bacon that the holy sacrifice of the mass is an "emanation from hell;" with Jewell that the vicar of Christ is the "Man of Perdition?" Who maintains now, like the Anglican archbishop, Sandys, that the sovereign pontiff of Rome is the "the triple-crowned beast, the double-sworded tyrant, a thief and a murderer, and the chief adversary of Christ?" Who advocates, like Grindal, that all the Catholic altars in the land should be completely demolished and applied to the profanest of uses? Who, in fine, asserts to-day as was once taught by the entire Anglican communion, that for nine hundred years the entire Christian world was sunk in a pit of damnable idolatry and rescued from its deplorable condition by such men as those whose names have been just mentioned.

In like manner have not the persecuting laws framed against the practice of our holy religion by the vain fears and unnatural hatred of our rulers been either entirely repealed or at least for the most part suffered to become obsolete. Who would now think of advocating the justice of preventing Catholics from worshipping according to the dictates of their conscience, of educating their children in their own faith and of possessing their own landed estates. In a word, where is the subject of Great Britain to-day

who would advocate a return to the legislation of Elizabeth, James, or Anne? Are not the descendants of those men who resorted to every manner of violence and oppression to crush out of existence the Catholic Church in those parts, heartily ashamed of such unworthy proceedings? Would they not, were it possible, wholly forget such brutal intolerance? And has not all this come to pass, has it not been effected, without any change or alteration, however trifling, in the principles, the doctrine, or ritual of the Church? For what she taught in the days of persecution she teaches now and will teach till the end. Never, indeed, in the presence of her most powerful enemies or under the pressure of the most intolerable violence did she withdraw or modify a single iota of that great deposit of truth which she received from the lips of her divine Master, when conferring upon her the apostolic commission to teach, He said: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

It has been the return to reason then and the discarding of passion and prejudice in every instance in the case of her enemies, and not the renunciation on the part of the Church of her creed or any article thereof, which has brought peace, tranquillity and toleration to religion. Hence in pagan Rome and Protestant England her cause and principles have triumphed, not indeed by abandoning the same, or by altering or adjusting them so as to suit the whims, the fancies and caprices of her enemies; but by the patient, continued, inflexible endurance of her children. And so shall it be in the future. The descendants of those who are now raising their hands against the Church of God, who are crippling her energies, thwarting her purpose, interfering with her mission of charity and attempting to stifle her very vitality, will one day or other become ashamed of these acts, disavow these proceedings,

and acknowledge the just claims of religion. For sooner or later, either in our days or those of our descendants, history is certain to repeat itself; and as in the past so likewise in the future, when time has exercised its beneficent influence on the minds of men, when pride is discarded, and passion and prejudice have been replaced by reason and humanity, the intolerance and injustice now being perpetrated against our holy religion by some of the most powerful nations of the world will be freely disowned and admitted to be indefensible.

Again not only has time done justice to the claims and principles of religion—not only has it taught men to modify their antipathy and to discard their prejudgments regarding the doctrines and practices of holy Church, but it has also, and in a very remarkable manner, rescued from opprobrium and vindicated in a most satisfactory way the memories, the lives and labors of those illustrious champions of Christian civilization—the members of religious communities who, either in their convent cells by laborious study, or as missionary priests with cross in hand traversed entire regions, civilizing and Christianizing the most cruel and barbarous races. The writings of such men as the author of the "Middle Ages," abundantly establish this, it being there set forth in clear and irrefragable argument what the world is indebted to men for, who within their convent walls and at a time when society was only in a condition of semi-enlightenment applied themselves to the production and preservation of literary works which are yet the admiration of the world. On the other hand, the testimony of the most impartial and reliable witnesses, as encountered in the works of innumerable travellers and historians assures us how cruel and unfounded were the suspicions and prejudices entertained by the world against those illustrious missionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries, who because of their success-

es in so marvelous a manner, in producing such admirable results, had arrayed against them the antipathy and hostility of the ungodly. As an instance, who has not read and read with pain how that glorious band of apostolic men, the sons of Ignatius, were ignomoniously expelled at the dictates of the infidel philosophers of Europe, from those flourishing Christian communities which they had formed in Southern America by the sweat, the toil and blood of hundreds of their devoted brethren. At the time it was thought the measure was just; that the circumstances of the hour demanded the act. But in this, as in everything else, history has repeated itself. Time which proves all things, has long since exploded the calumny, and men of all shades of civil and religious opinions now freely acknowledge the measure to be indefensible and highly injurious to the best interests and well-being of the native communities. Thus Sir Woodbine Parish, an English diplomatic agent, calls the measure "a daring act against the worthiest and most benevolent men." Sir James Mackintosh speaks of the expatriated Fathers as "amongst the greatest missionaries of the age;" while another English writer, Howitt, speaking of the Society of Jesus and its labors says: "I had formerly ranked its operations in Paraguay and Brazil amongst those of its worst ambition; but more extended enquiry has convinced me that in this instance, I, in common with others, did them a *grievous wrong*. Their conduct in these countries is one of the *most illustrious examples of Christian devotion*, Christian patience, Christian benevolence and disinterested virtue upon record." Such is the manner in which history has vindicated the memory of men who were regarded as being ambitious, worldly-minded and selfish.

It is now proper to pause here for a moment and before closing this work, to take a general survey of what we have gone over, it must be acknowledged, in a very cursory

and abbreviated form, and to see how far and to whom the glories of martyrdom are to be especially awarded. The honor and privilege of dying for the faith, it is pleasing to think, has not been the special inheritance of any race or country. The children of all ages and of all climes can claim a recognition for services rendered to religion in this respect. For in every land and in almost every place, the sword of the tyrant has been drawn and the professors of divine truth—the children of the Church of God—have been called on to do battle at the expense of their lives, with the enemies of divine truth. The primitive ages were, indeed, the most prolific in testimony and devotion of this kind; for then, more than in any subsequent period, was Christianity placed upon its trial for existence and called upon to encounter the rage and hatred of the whole pagan world. Consequently to the primitive ages is to be attributed a very considerable share of that glory which the Church of the Redeemer has achieved in this regard. And as the leaders of the faithful in those days were the clergy of the secular order, for the reason that the great religious communities subsequently called into existence to meet the wants and requirements of the times, had not yet had any being, it necessarily follows that to the secular clergy and the secular clergy alone, at that epoch, is the honor of leading the way in dying for the faith, to be granted. Entirely different, however, has been the case in subsequent times, when at the invitation of the divine summons and to meet the exigencies of the times, men separated themselves from all worldly cares and employments, engaged to observe the evangelical councils, and devoted themselves to lives of prayer and the regular observance of appointed rules in conventual life. Then, indeed, the spirit of martyrdom was no longer the special and exclusive inheritance of the secular priest. For rivalling the Apostles in their zeal for the conversion of nations and

the salvation of souls, the members of the great religious communities spread themselves all over the globe, from Europe to the Indies, on the one side, and to the Americas, on the other, preaching the divine word in every tongue and to every race, and as an order of Apostles is an order of martyrs, gathering in every clime and amid every people the martyrs' glorious crown. Indeed so true is this that for two hundred years, that is from the close of the 16th century till towards the end of the 18th, the great religious orders have almost exclusively monopolized the glories of martyrdom in heathen lands. Never except in the immediate primitive or apostolic age, did the Church of God receive such honor and glory as she did from the labors, the devotion, the self-sacrifice and sufferings of these men. Every-where in the remotest and most inhospitable regions they gathered in thousands into the fold of Christ and fertilized the land with their blood. In fact it was by the labors of these men that the Church of God was recompensed for the losses she sustained at that period in Europe; for, as has been well observed by a thoughtful writer, more souls were gained to the Church by the efforts of these missionaries than were then wrested from her by the powers of hell. The three great orders that thus rivaled one another in their burning zeal for souls, are the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Jesuits. By these, vast cordons of missions, embracing almost the entire of heathendom within their limits, and stretching from the Canadas to the uttermost bounds of Southern America in the new world, and from Cape Verde to the most distant regions of the Indies on the other side, were formed and served with a zeal, a devotion, and a success such as has never been exceeded in the history of missionary enterprise. Speaking of the labors of his brethren in the conversion of the heathen, the Dominican writer Father Palmer, says:

"As the Portuguese gained their power in Africa and India, so the blood of the order drenched the land from Cape Verde to Congo, from Soffola to Zanzibar, in Madagascar, Ormuz, Abyssinia, Arabia and Persia, and all along the coast from the Gulf of Cambay to China. Between 1565 and 1638, there was an almost unbroken chain of Dominican martyrdoms by the hands of infidels, Mussulmans, and even of the Dutch in the Sunda Islands, Sumatra, Java, Papua, Flores, Solor, Timor, Maquera, Duan, in the Moluccas, in Malacca, and in Corea." And then the writer adds, and no doubt with a legitimate sense of grateful pride: "In the sixteenth century the Dominican Order had 26,000 martyrs." In like manner numbers of the same glorious order gave their lives for the faith in the Phillippines, in Formosa, and Japan, so that it can be truly affirmed that the blood of the Dominican Fathers can be traced to-day all over the eastern portion of the globe. They were burned alive in Japan, they were beheaded in Egypt, and hewn to pieces in Palestine.*

Equally honorable to the Church and humanity, is the record of the labors and sufferings of the devoted children of Ignatius and Francis. The history of what these men have endured for the faith, all over the world, but especially in Central and Southern America has not yet been properly told; and when it is written in a manner worthy of the subject, it will furnish to the world a chapter of events as touching, as ennobling and interesting as any to be encountered in the annals of time. In fact the history of the missions of Southern America, is the history of the labors of Apostles and Martyrs. The number of Jesuit missionaries who lost their lives in that extensive region, while laboring

*"In 1261, 200 Dominicans were slain in Egypt and the surrounding parts. In 1263 the Dominican patriarch and more than a hundred of the brethren were slain by the Saracens in Palestine."—See Life of Cardinal Howard, by Palmer, page 35.

to carry the light of gospel truth and civilization to the barbarous races, no man can tell. They are admittedly, according to the best informed, incalculable.* In fact it was the ordinary, the usual thing for them to die the martyr's death. "Almost every year," says Mr. Marshall in his account of the missions of Paraguay, "from the beginning of this mission to its close, was consecrated by a martyrdom."† The children of Francis were equally generous of their lives and their blood. "The Franciscans," says Mr. Markham, "continued during a century and a half to send devoted men into the forests who preached fearlessly, explored vast tracts of previously unknown land and *usually* ended their days by being murdered by the very savages whom they had come to humanize." Here then we have the children of Francis rivaling the sons of Ignatius, while exposing themselves to all manner of dangers and to an almost absolute certainty of death. Nor does history fail to introduce us at this point to the white-robed sons of Dominic, who also in this region, as well as in the East, are found side by side with their co-religious, fighting in the same ranks and falling on the same battle-ground. Under such circumstances we are not to be astonished that so much devotion, so much heroism and self-sacrifice should have resulted in the conversion of millions of the natives. What, however, is difficult to realize is, how men who were necessitated to live constantly in the presence of danger and death, could have had the courage and tranquillity necessary for the composition of voluminous writings which under the most favorable circumstances would have done honor to the genius and ability of the ripest scholars.‡ In conclusion, the spirit of martyrdom is peculiarly Catho-

* See History of the Society, by Cretineau Joly. † Christian Missions, vol. 2, p. 198.

‡ Speaking of a dictionary in the Chiquitos language, published by one of the Fathers in three volumes, Dr. Latham, a competent authority, says: "Nothing more complete exists in any American language."

lic; it is to be encountered in the Catholic Church alone, and as such is a mark of divine truth. The end of the Church's sorrows and afflictions has not yet come: that will be only with the last day. The Church shall still suffer; persecution shall yet go on. But the names of the persecutors whoever they be, whether Nero, Diocletian, Julian, Pombal, Bismark, or Gambetta, shall be regarded with aversion, while the Church and the martyrs will be honored by all.

APPENDIX.

MEMORANDUM OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS ASSEMBLED AT THE TOMB OF SAINT BONIFACE, REGARDING THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

If the peace which has hitherto reigned between the Catholic Church and the state has latterly been disturbed in a way that is to be regretted, the German bishops believe that they can honestly say for themselves that they have not either individually or as a body furnished any pretext for such disturbances. The recent troubles have come upon them as suddenly and unexpectedly as upon Catholics in general, and we lament most deeply that this strife, which might so easily have been avoided, has ever been stirred up. But although past events cannot be recalled, it still remains our duty to defend on the one hand the rights and interests of the Catholic Church, and on the other to strive perseveringly by every means within our power, to proceed to the return of peace between the Church and the state. This is the object we have in view in our discussions on the present position of the Catholic Church. By an honest and full exposition of the state of things we hope to contribute to the restoration of that feeling of security, in the consciousness of our rights, which has been so deeply shaken, and to win back that peace which has been lost. This is possible only on the basis of positive justice and of the observance of legality as it stands now. To these considerations, therefore, before anything else we are of opinion that we ought to advert.

1. Relations of the Church to the state.

There cannot be the least doubt, from the point of view of positive law and justice that the Catholic Church in Germany is acknowledged by the law of the state, and by the law of nations, and exists in her entirety by law. In particular by the peace of Westphalia the Catholic Church like the other confessions acknowledged by the empire, was guaranteed her existence and her rights, as she was in the year of that peace. This legal existence of the various confessions was protected by the Supreme Court of the empire, and the Church was thereby insured against every legislative change, which might be brought about by the predominating influence of another confession. When through the secularization, numerous domains originally belonging to Catholic princes and to foundations holding directly from the empire, passed into the hands of Protestant sovereigns, the dispositions of the peace of Westphalia were, in so far as religion was concerned, confirmed and applied *de novo* by the decision of the delegation of the empire in 1813.

It is a settled and acknowledged fact, admitted by all the most eminent jurists, that no change was made, as regarded the rights of the various confessions by the fall of the German empire. True the protection which was given to them by the constitution of the empire and by the imperial tribunals came practically to an end. But it still remained the admitted duty of the sovereign princes and states of Germany to protect the rights and liberties of the acknowledged confessions, in precisely the same way as they had previously been protected by the Emperor and the empire. And as well then as on the occasion of the previous and subsequent transfer of Catholic territories, the German princes looked upon it as one of the first and most self-evident duties, to give security to their new sub-

jects, for the full and undiminished continuance of the rights of their religion and of their church, and to assure to them also undiminished, all rights and liberties which they had previously enjoyed, and this most solemnly and unalterably.

Almost all the records of the more modern constitutions of German countries, renew and confirm in principle the maintainance of the ancient privileges of the great Christian confessions, and a fresh guarantee for freedom of conscience in addition to those assured to the followers of those confessions, as to all citizens. For whereas a Catholic is only a Catholic as being a member of his Church, so also he is only free in his religious belief and his Catholic conscience, in so far as his Church is free.

But of all the German constitutional records the Prussian charter of the 31st of January, 1850, art. xv—xviii., might be said to have promised to the Roman Catholics, as well as to the Evangelical Church their just and lawful autonomy and independence in the clearest and most comprehensive manner. There cannot be the least doubt, that by the dispositions of the charter, as well as by similar legislative acts of a later date, the legal autonomy and liberty of the Catholic Church and her children, as well as that of the other confessions acknowledged in Germany, were not newly established but secured to them at the same time that they were partly freed from certain previous restrictions. A further proof of the permanent and uniform recognition of the Catholic Church in Germany and of her legal autonomy, is to be found in all the negotiations which the German princes and states carried on with the supreme head of the Church, with a view to the ordering of ecclesiastical affairs, in the agreements into which they entered with him, and the public acts which followed as a consequence on both sides.

2. These relations not legally changed by the German empire.

Not the least tittle has been changed in these legal relations by the important events of the last years; the consequence of which was the founding of the German empire, nor by the establishment of that empire. Nay in truth the Catholic Church had every reason to expect from the revived German empire the most energetic protection of her rights and of her liberty; for the protection of right and of legitimate liberty is the loftiest and most essential part of the emperor's prerogative. Therefore while we claim the protection of the emperor, we feel ourselves constrained to touch upon a thought which has proved as eventful as it always was unfounded. It was said that the elevation of his Majesty the king of Prussia, to the German imperial dignity had altered the dispositions and attitude of the Catholics with respect to him, and that they had become inimical to the empire; for it was said they could never forgive the transfer of the imperial crown to an evangelical sovereign house. Therefore the German kaiser would not grant to the Catholic Church and her children the same liberty as the king of Prussia had given them. We must emphatically repudiate this conclusion, as well as its principles. On the contrary the Catholics had a right to expect from an emperor who was not of their faith, and in the face of a non-Catholic majority, a confirmation all the more complete of their ecclesiastical autonomy. And they might hope this with the greater confidence, because the royal house of Prussia and the Prussian government had earned for themselves by the constitution of 1850 and the way in which it had been carried out, the gratitude and confidence of all Catholics, and because the principle of ecclesiastical liberty had become a fundamental principle of the Prussian government. On the other hand

the king of Prussia like all German princes and their governments, had every reason to put confidence in the Catholic population, its bishops and its clergy.

Without flattery or hypocrisy, the Catholic faithful had given proofs as well in the revolutionary crisis of earlier years as in the social ones of more modern times, and in the great wars, especially the last, of a blameless fidelity, founded on a religious conscientiousness, to all their duties as citizens and patriots, and had shown a most self-sacrificing devotion. The bishops as well as the secular and regular clergy had honestly endeavoured, on all occasions, to strengthen the faithful in their good dispositions and to set them the example. Nevertheless even during the war, as already before with just as little foundation, voices were raised in certain circles which accused the Catholics of enmity to the empire and indifference to their country, and hardly was the victory won and peace concluded, before the same voices, assuming a more and more threatening tone, might be heard asserting that after having overcome one enemy, it was now a question of defeating and crushing a far more dangerous internal enemy—Jesuitism, Ultramontanism, Catholicism; that now the war against Rome had to be begun and must be ended promptly. There is no need to prove that this language was profoundly painful and disquieting to the Catholics. But they would only look upon it as the expression of private wishes and expectations, and as the utterance of partisans; still they never could have allowed themselves to think that such views as those to which we have alluded, could possibly gain admittance and acquire influence with those into whose hands providence had committed the protection of their most sacred rights and interests. Yet one thing soon became visible to the Catholics, which was that their position had become a serious one; that powerful political parties of

different and wholly opposite interests would seek to rob the Catholic Church of the freedom in which she had previously rejoiced, in Prussia especially, and whose aim it was to injure Catholicism and in many cases every form of Christianity. Foreseeing this danger the Catholics everywhere saw that it was their duty to choose as their representatives in the Reichstag men on whom they could count as stout champions of their rights and interests. These elections, the part taken in them by the clergy, the formation and attitude of the "Centrums-Fraction," have been made matter of reproach to the Catholics, but unjustly so most certainly. The Catholics acted clearly with as much loyalty as they had right on their side, in trying by the exercise of their rights as citizens, to secure a vigorous representation of their religious rights in the empire. They did not thereby introduce religious divisions into the purely political business of the assembly; they sought to place their religious freedom and autonomy in safety on the basis of justice and liberty.

As regards the "Centrums-Fraction," our present task is not to look at the purely political side of its activity. In religious matters that party confined itself to defending, on the ground of existing rights and general lawful freedom the autonomy of the Catholic Church. Their proposal to incorporate the provisions of the Prussian charter, articles xv—xviii., into the constitution of the empire, was the exact expression of their standpoint. It was no good sign that this proposal should have been rejected immediately, by a compact majority of the Assembly, with the approval of the imperial government. Up to that time all German constitutional charters, even such as had been the fruit of a time which was unfavorable to religion and to the freedom of the Church, had contained some kind of guarantee for the exercise of the rights and liberties of the acknowl-

edged confessions. And yet the empire not only refused to give Catholics such a guarantee in the constitution of the empire, but unfortunately measures were taken and declarations made, both within the empire itself and in individual territories attached to it, which brought home to the hearts of all Catholics the fear that everything in the shape of freedom and of the rights of the Church which still existed, was only existing on sufferance; and that if there were a *tabula rasa* to be inscribed as seemed fit a totally new order of things in religious matters and one which was highly unfavorable to the Catholic Church and to ecclesiastical liberty was to be created afresh.

3. The excommunications: the army bishops.

It is a certain fact that the Catholic Church in Germany as was formerly the case, and that from time immemorial, has the indefeasible right to exist in the integrity of her organization and constitution. There still can unfortunately be no doubt that she has been attacked, and that these rights have been violated in a grievous way by a series of measures adopted in the empire itself as well as in individual territories attached to the empire. We must above all insist upon and single out an instance the measures which were taken against the Catholic Church in favor of the so-called "Old Catholics." These measures are founded evidently on the most grievous misconceptions and errors, and we will therefore not only make our complaint with regard to these past events, but also make the Catholic stand-point in this matter clear. The essential distinction between the Catholic Church and the confessions is our belief in the divine establishment of a living ecclesiastical teacher, the conviction that Christ has established for the preservation and explanation of His doctrines, a teaching office which will last on till the end of the world; and which was accepted by Peter and the Apostles, and by their successors, the

pope and the bishops; and further, that this teacher, in virtue of the divine assistance promised to him, is secured from all error when in the exercise of his formal and definitive office, he gives his doctrinal decision in matters pertaining to faith and morals.

That man only is a Catholic Christian who acknowledges the office of teacher in the Church, on the ground of its belief, and submits himself with full conviction to his decisions in matters of faith. He, also, who refuses on the other hand to acknowledge a doctrinal decision of the supreme ecclesiastical teacher, ceases by that very fact, to be a Catholic. By that one act he has denied not only the one dogma in question but the principle of the Catholic faith, The Catholic Church has not only the right, but it is her unavoidable duty, to exclude such a one from her common fold. But where the Catholic Church has a right to exist. she has also the right to enforce her teaching office with respect to her members. In the same way Catholics have the right to demand that they shall depend, as regards their faith and their opinions on no one save the supreme teaching office of their Church. Therefore to forbid the Church to pronounce decisions in matters of faith and to prevent or forbid her from publishing the same is to suppress the Church herself; to hinder the Church from excluding from her fellowship those who do not submit to her doctrinal decisions is in fact forcing the Church into apostasy and into error. To force Catholics to remain in eccelsiastical fellowship with those who refuse obedience to the teaching authority of the Church or to oblige Catholics to receive from such persons their instruction in the doctrines of religion or the sacraments may justly be said to be the infliction upon the faithful of the most fearful tyranny and oppression of conscience; and is tantamount to ordering them to do things which according to their conscientious convictions

constitutes an apostasy from the faith and a heavy and grievous sin. But if some few German professors and secular priests, and a small number of laymen chose to refuse to obey the decrees of the Vatican Council, and thereby separated themselves from the belief of the whole Catholic Church, the state might have allowed them to form a new religious community for themselves; but the state could not have any pretext for forcing the Catholic Church to keep these men in her bosom, to grant them the right of communion with the Church, and even to assume the office of spiritual guides and particularly of spiritual teachers, and to celebrate the sacred mysteries at the same altar with other priests. Least of all could the state agree to the absurd assertion of these men, viz., that they alone were the true Catholic Church, the Church which was acknowledged by the state; and that on the other hand the pope and the bishops of the whole world, together with the faithful united with these in belief throughout Christendom, had become a sect, which did not enjoy the acknowledgment of the state.

Some people have justified the teachers of religion, the theologians and professors, who have left the Church, by alluding to their position as servants of the state. Now we do not deny to the state the right of treating its servants after certain general principles, in their capacity as servants of the state; but on the other hand it is as clear as the sun at noon that the state cannot cause, by a fiction of its own, a servant of the state who has separated from the Catholic Church to be still a member of that Church. Hence it follows that such a man can never act as a teacher of the Catholic religion, as a professor of Catholic theology, or as a member of a Catholic theological faculty. People have denied the right of the bishop to excommunicate the so-called "Old Catholics," because such a sentence carries

with it certain civil disabilities. But this reason is invalid. If there really were remaining from earlier relations between Church and state, certain civil disabilities attached to excommunication the right of excommunication could still not be taken from the Church but must remain to her undiminished. But such relations no longer exist. The Church herself attaches to the sentence of exclusion from the community of the faithful no civil disabilities whatever, and with regard to excommunicated persons, we ask nothing of the state, save the recognition of the fact, that such a person is no longer a member of the Catholic Church.

The steps taken by the civil power against the bishop of Ermeland on account of the sentence of excommunication, which he was perfectly justified in pronouncing, surprised us all the more, that during all past time, the various sentences of this kind pronounced by the bishops, in their respective dioceses, even when those sentences were publicly proclaimed from the pulpit, have never met with the slightest opposition from the secular authorities. That which bishop Krementz did, he did in the consciousness of his rights and in the exercise of his office as spiritual pastor and guardian of his flock, without even a suspicion that he could thereby find himself entangled in a conflict with the government. We could not have permitted the same right to be refused to any of us, under the same circumstances. Especially the unjust preference shown to dissenters by the military authorities in Prussia and the measures which were taken in consequence were excessively painful to us.

When a few years ago his Majesty the king of Prussia proposed to the head of the Church the appointment of a special army bishop, and the pope acceded to the king's wishes, it was the intention of both parties to the contract to provide by this measure that special care should be taken

of the Catholic soldiery. Although, necessarily, in making this arrangement, the most scrupulous regard was had to military order and discipline, yet the thought was never for a moment entertained that the army bishop and the clergy under him were to depend on the military authorities in ecclesiastical and religious matters. In all Church matters on the contrary the army chaplains are amenable to their bishop and the bishop to the pope.

We believe that we may say with positive conviction that neither the army bishop nor the field chaplains under him ever failed once in the faithful performance of their duty nor in accomodating themselves with due consideration to the wishes of the military authorities. We feel certain that they never were guilty of a disturbance of military order, or permitted themselves to do anything which could lead to the relaxation of discipline or of military obedience.

How grevious, therefore, it was to them we cannot say, when the military authorities ceded the soldiers' church in Cologne, to the so-called "Old Catholics" for their services. The more these dissenters pretend still to belong to the body of the faithful, the more did it become a conscientious duty and an obligation of honor for the Catholic Church to hold herself far from every appearance of such communion. Therefore, it became necessary to give up the Catholic worship of God in the church and at the altar, where immediately before, the sacrifice of the mass had been sacrilegiously offered by an apostate priest. The army bishop could not possibly, without becoming a subject of scandal to the whole Church, permit the Catholic soldiers to hear mass in such a church. We deplore these events most deeply. But the army bishop could not act differently. He clearly did not thereby overstep the bounds of his jurisdiction, and he in no way interfered in the con-

cerns of the military authorities. We will not go further into the question, whether the military authorities have unlimited power of disposing of the churches, and, by the soldiers, can turn them to every possible use and permit the celebration of any form of worship in them. This much is certain, that not the military authorities, but the army bishop was the competent authority who ought to have decided whether or no such persons should be allowed to say mass in the church.

Under these circumstances the military authorities proceeded to bring the army bishop before a court-martial and that by the intervention of the military authorities themselves; and immediately and without the slightest consideration of the rights of the Church or of those of the pope, who alone can withdraw from a bishop his jurisdiction as the pope alone can give it to him, all means of exercising his office were refused to him, even the insignia of his episcopal dignity being taken from him, every official communication forbidden between him and the military chaplains, and a number of the latter dismissed the service because they declared that they should still consider themselves bound to obey their bishop in spiritual things.

Whilst the ecclesiastics who had remained faithful to their Church, were being thus dismissed, an apostate priest, formerly a military chaplain, was maintained in the office of which he had been deprived by his bishop.

4. The law against the Jesuits.

Another attack on the rights and liberty of the Catholic Church has been made in the shape of the ordinances forbidding the Society of Jesus and other kindred orders and religious associations to establish themselves within the empire. The monastic life and the activity of the orders and religious associations take their root in the very essence and being of the Church. People may say that

religious orders do not belong to the essential organization of the Church and that she can exist without them. But that is at best a doubtful and, in the sense in which it is used, an untrue proposition. The orders do not belong to the hierarchy, and their suppression is not followed immediately by the decline of the Church. But it is a Catholic doctrine of faith that the observance of the evangelical counsels belongs to Christian perfection, and that many men are called to this state of life by God. The forbidding of monastic life is, therefore, nothing less than a partial restriction of the free practice of the Catholic faith. And besides, the prayers, the example and the manifold activity of the orders and religious congregations belong to the soundness and completeness of Catholic life. Clearly it is a cruel tyranny over conscience to pretend to measure the life and the wants of the Church by the standard of principles and views which are those of another confession or which are those of rationalism. In addition to this it is an unbearable contradiction and a striking injustice, to grant to all associations liberty to develop freely their power and activity, and to look on this as a fundamental condition of a free and wholesome state of things and to refuse the same liberty to the Catholic Church and to the Catholic people. The objection that the too great numbers of convents and religious orders might involve social disadvantages, is one on which we need treat very slightly; but we may remark, firstly, that if such were the case certain special measures might be taken against really definite evils, but a suspension of the order need not follow: secondly that religious congregations not only do not offer disadvantages, but positive advantages as regards the social system. Experience, will perhaps, at no distant time, bring about the conviction in all minds, that very important needs of modern society can only be effectually sup-

plied by the spirit of sacrifice and the services of religious congregations. After these general observations we pass on to the suppression of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The stations which they had founded on German soil were suppressed; nay, the priests of the society were not even allowed freedom of residence or the fulfillment of simple sacerdotal functions, although the wording of the very law in virtue of which this was done did not seem to us to warrant such proceedings.

It is a received and admitted truth that such a suppression could only be possible through a total disregard of all civil liberty and rights of association. And not satisfied with the injustice and unparalleled hardship of refusing to these Catholic religious alone the universal freedom granted to all other men living on German soil, even the exercise of their ordinary sacerdotal functions, which are quite apart from the order or its rules, is forbidden to members of monastic orders. It is asserted, indeed, that the Society of Jesus has principles that are immoral and dangerous to the state. This assertion however, so long as it is not proved by incontrovertible facts, which is hitherto notoriously not the case, is an insulting calumny against the Catholic Church and an untruth. The Catholic Church is unable to tolerate in her bosom any order with principles or tendencies that are immoral or dangerous to the state. A Jesuit is a Catholic Christian, a priest like any other. He is subject, without the least exception, to the faith, the moral teachings and the laws of the Catholic Church. Such is the truth on this matter, and any other assertion is untruth and prejudice; and so long as the Catholic Church posses-es a right to her own Christian honor, she has also a right to require that no one shall stigmatize an institute belonging to her, and for which she bears the responsibility as immoral and dangerous to the state. And if it be assert-

ed that individual members of the Society of Jesus have incurred serious imputations as immoral or dangerous to the state, yet justice requires that even the individual be not prejudged without previous investigation and proof of of the delinquency imputed to him.

It is said further that the Society of Jesus breaks the peace between the religious confessions. That also is untrue, and is unsupported by a single fact. The Jesuits are zealous defenders of the Catholic faith, as others are zealous defenders of their respective denominations. Lastly, it is said that public opinion demands the expulsion of the Jesuits. But we ask what is this public opinion? A public opinion competent to deal with a case like the present would find its representatives in the Catholic bishops, the Catholic clergy and the Catholic laity; those especially who have witnessed and experienced personally the active services of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and are now filled with the deepest grief at the forcible removal of such approved spiritual guides. But if, on the contrary, decisions about the rights and liberties of the Catholic Church are to depend upon the likings and dislikings of those who do not belong to that Church, then of a truth are we deprived of all right. Precisely as we respect the secular power as the administrator of justice, so earnestly must we expect and demand that it will protect the rights and liberties of the Catholics and of their Church, without regard to any denominational or personal likings or dislikings, precisely as it would protect the rights and liberties of any other; and as we are in a minority, that it will do so with double care.

And kindred congregations, moreover the religious orders and communities akin to the Society of Jesus, are to be banished from the soil of the German empire. But when one reflects that the grounds upon which the exist-

ence of such a relationship has been decided, have not been explained and that no contradictory discussion of the question will be permitted; and lastly that the decision as to what congregations are akin to the Jesuits is avowedly to depend on the report of persons known as decided adversaries of the Catholic Church, no man can regard as groundless the apprehension that by the expression in the imperial law of the 14th July, "Kindred orders and congregations," the door has been opened to an arbitary withdrawal of legal protection from every religious congregation whatsoever.

In fact the Redemptorists, the Lazarists and even the Trappists and the Brothers of the Christian schools have already been named as kindred congregations. In reality, however, not one of these orders has the slightest relationship to the Jesuits. Of course a resemblance may be traced in the following consideration. These congregations have all originated in modern times and correspond—except to a certain extent the Trappists—to the requirements of the present age. Now, if this were the intention of the law, to pacify the Catholics by allowing here and there one or two of the old monasteries to remain, and a few congregations to tend the hospitals; while on the contrary all those religious congregations which the Church has developed in later times to meet the spiritual, pastoral, educational and scientific needs of the time—all these are treated as akin to the Jesuits and banished—if that were the intention of the law, then it would be perfectly clear that it aimed at this, to stifle as far as possible the vitality of the Catholic Church, and to cause her by degrees to die internally. Of all the kinds of persecution of the Church and of all the kinds of oppression of her liberty, that would be the worst.

In the prohibition, at least partial, of the religious life is

included the expulsion of the male and female teachers belonging to a religious congregation from the schools, which in Prussia and in the dominion of Alsace and Lorraine—temporarily an immediate dependency of the empire—has been carried into effect by a simple ordinance of the ministry of worship. That prohibition involves: 1st, severe injuries to the rights and interests of the masters and mistresses whom this measure affects. Although they have satisfied all the requirements of the state, they are ejected from the calling to which they have devoted their lives, they are deprived of their means of subsistence, they are rewarded with ingratitude for their devoted and thoroughly efficient labors and are consigned to poverty and perhaps to distress. The congregations to which they belong and which hitherto have been recognized by the state are also more or less injuriously affected by the same measure. 2d. It involves dishonor to the Catholic Church and religion. The reason of this removal of the religious masters and mistresses does not consist in any objections to their efficiency as teachers. It lies in their ecclesiastical character; in the circumstance that they have devoted themselves in an especial manner to God, and for the love of Him to the education of youth; that they cultivate with especial care in their scholars, along with their general teaching, a religious training; and all under the superintendence of the parochial clergy and the bishop, and in the spirit and according to the prescriptions of the Catholic faith. The measure is then utterly incompatible with the equality before the law of the Catholic Church and religion, and much more with their honorable statutes. 3d. A deep injury and grievance is inflicted on Catholic parents and Catholic parishes whose desire it is to intrust their children to these religious masters and mistresses. The most sacred and inalienable right of Catholic parents is that of

having their children educated as good Catholics. Now, however, they are deprived of those teachers in whom they justly confide to impart such an education to their children. 4th. In conclusion of this head of our subject, we cannot suppress the reflection, is the execution of such a measure as this incompatible with sections iv and xxiv of the Prussian constitution? This point, however, is closely connected with the consideration of the measures aimed generally at the unchristianizing and unchurching of our schools.

5. Christian education.

No Christian education is possible without the existence of Christian schools in which the Church exercises the influence to which she is entitled. If the school is not acting in harmony with the Church, and with Christian family life it becomes the worst enemy of both: it will then form an anti-Church and an anti-family system which will estrange the hearts of the children from those of their parents, and from the whole spirit of the Church, in a way hitherto unheard of in history, and will bring them up to be irreligious or, at all events, indifferent to all religion. For this reason the right to have denominational schools is an essential element in the legal recognition of every form of belief. The actually existing system of jurisprudence on which the whole religious and ecclesiastical status of Germany, legally speaking, rests declares the school to be an *annexum religionis.* True the state has now more specially appropriated the schools; but it has always considered itself bound to preserve their religious and denominational character, and it has, therefore, left to the Church at least so much authority over education as is necessary to enable us to maintain the denominational and Christian system in the schools, and to hinder them from undermining religious belief. It necessarily, therefore, fills us and all Catholic

believers with the deepest anxiety, to become aware, as we have done, that the Church is being more and more deprived of her legitimate influence in the schools, and excluded from them; that the ecclesiastical inspectors are being put into a most precarious position; that un-denominational schools are daily being established in the territories of the new empire, and that every kind of moral encouragement is given to those educational tendencies which are directed towards the complete un-Christianizing of education, and which end is no other than that of estranging humanity through the medium of education by degrees from the whole Christian faith, and of educating men in the direction of a purely humanitarian civilization.

6. Confraternities and associations.

Further we cannot do other than point out that it is an essential narrowing of our freedom in the practice of religion to forbid, as has recently been done, the school children and the Christian youth of both sexes to become members of religious associations. Yet, as we have said, this has already been done in Prussia. It must be clear to all that such pious associations as these, with their accompanying short prayers and exercises of devotion, even when some trifling alms for pious purposes are joined to these exercises, cannot possibly be and are not in any way dangerous to the state or in opposition to the schools. But they are eminently calculated to make youthful hearts more susceptible of all good, and to promote piety, innocence, and all Christian virtues. This is the judgment of the Catholic Church, which approves of such associations from her practical experience of the good they do. It is clear, therefore, we repeat it, that the forbidding of these associations of our Catholic youth is a measure which contains in itself something inimical to religion, and that such a prohibition can only act injuriously on the hearts of the children

and young people. And over and above this consideration such a prohibition is an encroachment on the rights of the Church and on those of parents. The Church has a right to use her own peculiar means for promoting religious feelings in the minds of Catholic youth, and parents as well as the children themselves have a right to use freely all these helps towards promoting piety, which their religious belief and their Church offer and recommend to them.

7. Law concerning preachers.

To the number of those measures which oppress the Catholic Church may be subjoined the addition made to paragraph 130 of the penal code of the German empire. We will merely touch shortly on this point. Practically this penalty may be said to be objectless; because the priest whose sermons are in accordance with the law of the Church will never give offense politically. But the law must always be a humiliating, exceptional piece of legislation, and may give rise to hurtful suspicions of a Christian preacher.

8. The unfounded pretensions of the civil power.

We have frankly discussed the measures of the last few months which we have been constrained, to our grief, to admit are neither more nor less than vexatious attacks on the well-earned and natural rights of the Catholic Church and of her members, as well as essential curtailments of the free exercise of the Catholic religion. Unhappily the future seems to be becoming more and more threatening in aspect as far as we are concerned. The same influences which made themselves felt with such evil results in the adoption of the past measures to which we have alluded, have now prompted the demand that the whole position of the state with reference to the Catholic Church and her supreme head, shall be re-settled on totally new principles; and this solely by the legislative authority of the state; this too not in the spirit of ecclesiastical liberty and of a

Christian view of the state's obligations and duties, but on the basis of exclusion as far as possible of the Church and of religion from the schools and from all daily life, and by a system of jealous guardianship of the Church on every side by the state, crushing her in all her most essential and vital forms of activity in the education and disposal of her servants, in her care of souls, and her fostering care of religious life.

These demands are made on the ground: 1st. that the state has unbounded power to decide on the rights and degree of freedom of the Church, and that solely on its own view of the subject and according to its own good pleasure; 2d. that the Catholic Church is inimical to the empire, dangerous to the state, and opposed to all intellectual culture. In sober truth, it is a frightful thought that the successors of those bishops who first preached Christianity to the German people, should have arrived at the point of being forced to prove that the Catholic Church has a right to exist in her corporate individuality and integrity in Germany, and that the Catholic peoples who have lived for more than a thousand years, from generation to generation, in the full freedom of their Catholic faith, possess an unattackable, undoubted right to preserve the same freedom in the exercise of this faith that they have always had; and further that this faith is not dangerous to the state. That Christianity itself was dangerous to the state was a maxim of the old heathen civil powers, and from this maxim sprang all the persecutions of the Christians during the first three centuries of our era. But even since the peoples became Christian they have acknowledged that Christianity and the Christian Church have, immediately from God, the right to existence and unrestricted vitality. The recognition of this divine right in the Church is the foundation of the general development of the western

nations, and especially of the German empire which existed for a thousand years on that basis. In the 16th century indeed, the unity of western christendom was rent asunder and a long conflict between the separated portions ensued. Each of the two parties asserted that it was the true Church and that it alone possessed unadulterated Christianity ; and the religious disagreement led to a political conflict. As this was of too long continuance, there was concluded in Münster and Osnabrück between the two parties in our country, that sort of pacification which in the nature of things, must exist so long as the religious division continues. But it is not the business of the state to promote the latter, and every attempt on the part of the state would be madness and crime, and could only result in misery and ruin. The religious confessions which were recognized in Germany by the peace of Westphalia, are, as we showed at the outset, entitled to full and equal rights ; and this plenitude and equality of rights, which was at first limited to one year and beyond that term was dependent on the will of the local princes and certain agreements with their respective estates, is now altogether universal. The title of the religious confessions to these full and equal rights is their unimpeachable and well-grounded right, which the state must protect and which it cannot alter at its pleasure. Least of all can that right be changed by the vote of a majority consisting of the members of other religious bodies What we here assert is an unquestionable and unimpeachable pillar of public law now in force in Germany. It is a firmly established principle of the old imperial jurisprudence, and is, down to the most modern times, the doctrine of the most eminent German jurists of all confessions. Our modern age has, it is true, fabricated for the first time another doctrine, the doctrine that there is, as against the state, no independent and well-grounded right ; that the

will of the state is simply absolute; and that it is this sovereign will alone that can determine, as seems to it good, the extent of legal right and of freedom to be enjoyed by churches and religious confessions. Such is the modern theory. It is, however, not the theory of positive law, but a philosophical assertion and a false doctrine in contradiction with the nature of things and with truth, a doctrine which obviously involves the overthrow of all legal order, and the perpetual persecution of Christianity, which, by it, is at the mercy of the arbitrary will of the inventors of the theory. Moreover this theory is not propounded by any of the Christian churches, nor by the historically existing state authorities; but by a philosophy fundamentally hostile to Christianity and to all supernatural religion; or, if you please, by a school that dates its influence from the last century.

It is undeniable that Protestantism affords a certain support—though but an apparent one—to this theory. Protestant church government—at least in Germany—has passed into the hands of the temporal princes. Nevertheless even according to Protestant church law, there exists a specific distinction between the holders of church authority and the holders of state property. As a holder of Protestant church authority, the Protestant ruler has to proceed according to laws and maxims quite different from those on which he acts as holder of state authority; which as such, has no right to encroach upon ecclesiastical matters, and has to confine itself strictly within the limits of its own competency.

Not so the new philosophy which, since the eighteenth century, has in ever more extensive and manifold forms been getting possession of men's minds. This new spirit which has arisen by the side of Christianity and in opposition to it, we will call "rationalistic naturalism." Its essential

and fundamental principle is the negation of all supernatural revelation and of all supernatural order. Now as Christianity is a wholly supernatural revelation from God, and a rule of life formed through God's revelation and the strength of His grace, and as the Church is the embodiment of that rule of life, Christianity and the Church appear to rationalism to be a folly which really ought not to exist and for the annihilation of which every effort ought to be made. No longer shall that folly as a divine revelation, but human reason alone and the science it has generated, rule over the human race; and this reason and science neither know of any limits in their own legitimate sphere, nor of any higher truth of divine origin as Christian science does. According to this doctrine the state must be the highest representative of human reason emancipated from Christian belief. Accordingly, the highest function of the state is not the protection or promotion of Christianity. Its function is the realization of reason, hence also, as even the philosophers of antiquity dreamed, the men of this science ought to be and must be the leaders of the state. Now what this new doctrine thinks of the relation of the state to religion and religious confession is needless to state and is in our day no secret. The dealing of the state with them is to be on the principle of infidel reason, and according to the views of expediency. Now as the existence of a Christian and believing people, and of Christian confessions and especially of a Catholic Church, is a fact that cannot be put out of sight, and as the sudden and violent abolition of Christianity and of the Church would be impracticable and cruel, the state must do two things: 1st, it must cause the religious confessions and especially the Catholic Church gradually and quietly to die out, by diminishing as much as possible their freedom of action and their influence over individuals and over society; 2d, by

means of the complete separation of all educational organization from the Church by means of the perfect secularization of all the social activities, works of benevolence, especially of the Church and of Christian confessions, by means of the press, by means of science and art, by means of public amusements—the state must bring everything under its own guidance and patronage; and generally by this universal state activity, it must bring over the people to the dominion of pure reason, until at last the right moment shall arrive to make a complete clearance of the last remnants of Christianity, of its deep-rooted hold on society and on history, and of its widely ramified formations. In many perhaps this statement of the question will excite surprise or even disappointment; but to those who know the actual state of the world it will be incontrovertible; and it is impossible to understand rightly the present position of religious affairs unless we keep in view existing facts and the direction which thought is taking. On the other hand Christianity, historical and positive law, and the Christian and German conscience knows nothing of that unlimited power of the state and of the state's legislative power in relation to the Christian Church. That modern principle that the rights of the Church and of the members depend only on the state's concession, which the state may recall whenever it pleases, and, therefore, miserably depend on the state legislation for the time being, is in contradiction to all Christian and positive law, as well as the law of the land at present in force in Germany. The attempt to make it a reality would lead to the overthrow of all existing positive law, and to the persecution of Christianity.

9. Falsity of the pretext of danger to the state.

We proceed to the charges alleged against the Catholic Church of being hostile to the empire and dangerous to

the state. As regards the charges raised against the Catholic clergy and people of Germany that they are hostile to the empire and to the fatherland and dangerous to the state, we are unable to find words sufficiently expressive of the grief and horror which such charges have excited in us. The German races that are still Catholic loved the German fatherland and bled for it, before there existed any religious disruption, before anybody had dreamed of that free thought and free science by which to-day the descendants of the ancient Saxons, Almains, Swabians and Bavarians are accused of want of patriotism and reproached with subserviency to their Church, merely because they have remained faithful to the belief of their fathers, and still honor the pope as the head of their Church. The Catholic Germans equally with their Protestant brethren, assisted in freeing their country from the foreigners in the years 1813 and 1814; and in the late war, all ranks of Catholic Germany made every sacrifice, and have, therefore, full right to share in all the honors and advantages of the victory. However that has been sufficiently asserted, although it can scarcely be too often repeated, we must go somewhat more into detail. Catholics are conscious that they have ever acted lawfully and peacefully towards their fellow-citizens, without regard to difference of creed; never made attacks upon their honor; never held them in suspicion on account of their opinions; never denounced them as dangerous to the country or to the state; and never attempted to diminish their political or religious liberties. Catholics must, however, acknowledge with grief that they have not always and every-where shared in similar treatment.

At the beginning of the present century, immediately upon the termination of the war of liberation—just as now upon the achievement in common of our late triumph—

there followed an odious movement of suspicion against Catholics and their Church. It was persistently attempted to identify Germanism and Protestantism, and, without the least ground, to employ the holy and virtuous sentiment of patriotism in assailing and injuring Catholicity. As often as the Catholic Church in Germany had to engage in a struggle for the recovery of her freedom, which was seriously prejudiced at the beginning of the present century, both she and her members were traduced as enemies of their country. Even the late sainted archbishop of Cologne, the truest son of the fatherland, and the Catholics of the Rhine provinces, were accused of leaguing with the revolutionists of Belgium and France, just as to-day we Catholics have to hear ourselves arraigned on the frantic charge of being in alliance with the Red International. On the outbreak of the war in 1866, a religious war was also stirred up and the most insulting and absurd accusations were raised against the Catholics. When the purely political war with France broke out, the fiction was again revived, and was spread by speech and writing, so that throughout almost all Germany separate legal proceedings—without grounds and without results in any case—were taken against Catholic ecclesiastics on the charge of hostility to the country. Still more to inflame men's minds the war was represented in flagrant contradiction to truth as a war of the Catholic party, of the Jesuits and of the heads of the Church to overthrow Protestant Prussia by the aid of the French. The inventions were disseminated both before the war and during its progress; and after the victory they were still more amplified. Catholics of all nations were, it was asserted, banded together in a conspiracy for the overthrow of the new empire. It was said that the conspiracy was spread by

its ramifications through Poland, France and Belgium. Thereby the empire was said to be in great danger, and every measure against the Catholics was represented as justified by the law of necessity. Of course protests for such suspicions could be and were invented. Anything that the advocates of a justifiable or unjustifiable particularism may have advanced in the daily press; anything that the French Catholics in their grief may have uttered; whatever hopes or fears individual Catholics excited or embittered at the injustice endured by the pope and the Church in Italy may have expressed; every ill-advised act or expression of any Catholic, ecclesiastic or layman—all was made to serve to confer plausibility on that imaginary terror or danger to the empire and the state. And yet how evidently nugatory and groundless are all those reclamations and accusations? Blameless in all respects has been and is under the alarming and bewildering occurences of the day, the attitude of the Church and the Holy Father. The latter has steadfastly protested against all the iniquity practised against him; and as steadfastly has he disdained to adopt any political patisanship in the conflict; and never has he ceased to exhort all peoples to fidelity to Christ and to the Church, and to justice and obedience to the secular authorities. Blameless and above all suspicion during these times has been the conduct of the Catholic clergy and laity in Germany. As regards the bishops they believe that at least they have fulfilled all the duties which their position imposed upon them, towards king and country, towards the empire and their native land. Devoid, therefore, of any grounds in fact, nay, utterly opposed to facts, are all these reclamations by means of which it is sought to set up a just case for circumscribing the liberty of the Catholic Church and placing her under the surveillance of the police.

10. The decrees of the Vatican Council, not a danger to the state.

But the charge of being dangerous to the state has also been sought to be supported as against the Catholic Church on her recent dogmatic decisions. In speeches and in writings it has been maintained that the Catholic Church has become dangerous to the state by reason of the decree of the Vatican Council upon the primacy and its teaching office. Here it is to be remarked that this accusation, besides being made by Protestant rulers, has also been brought by those dissidents from the Church, and by them in the most odious form—who have refused to recognise the Vatican Council, and thereby, as we have already shown, have separated themselves from the Catholic Church

It would be most lamentable if the passionate and untrue accusations of these men who have fallen off from the Church were to exercise the slightest influence upon the imperial or state government. This is not the place to clear up all those misapprehensions and incorrect applications of the principles of theology or canon law, and of historical facts belonging to periods long gone by and wholly inapplicable to the present time, by which it has been sought to justify those accusations. We rather prefer to oppose a few words only to all this talk. 1st. The dissidents maintain that the decree of the Vatican Council has confered on the pope the absolute power of making new dogmas at his pleasure, of propounding new doctrines of morality, and of altering at his arbitrary will the constitution of the Church. Now the Vatican decree itself, the pope, all the bishops in the word, Catholic theologians and the whole of Catholic Christendom repudiate such an assertion with horror, and reject it as a senseless and un-Catholic error; being on the contrary convinced that neither pope nor council nor any body else is entitled to

make the slightest alteration in those matters of Catholic faith and morals which have been already handed down to us. The Catholic ruler of faith is of a world-wide notoriety, and according to it the authentic and final attestation and explanation of the Catholic teaching on faith and morals belongs not to private judgment but to the teaching authority established by Christ. 2d. Those dissidents maintain that the soveregnity and security of the states are imperiled by the doctrine of the pope's teaching office and infallibility; for, say they, the pope now claims supremacy over all princes and states; or at all events may at any moment claim it and define it the same as a dogma. The pope, however, and with him the entire Church recognizes not in words only, but by their uniformly consistent practice—the independence of all states without distinction of constitution, and the sovereignity of princes and other supreme powers in the state. Accordingly, the Church obliges all subjects to pay conscientious obedience to all secular authorities; and both Pius IX. and his predecessors have repeatedly enforced in the strongest manner this command of Christ and of his Apostles to be obedient for God's sake to all the powers that be, and have rejected all rebellion in the most decided manner. The Apostolic See has ever acted in the most loyal manner, and with all due consideration towards states has observed treaties; the principles of the Catholic faith and the Church's independence in matters ecclesiastical; and has acted with perfect consideration of all existing relations and of the wishes of governments. We ought here to repeat what we have already solemnly stated in our collective pastoral of May of last year, namely that the plenitude of spiritual authority which our Lord has left on earth and delegated to S. Peter and his successors for the salvation of souls and for the regulation of his

kingdom on earth, is by no means an unlimited authority. On "the contrary it is limited by the truth of revelation, by the law of God, and by the constitution which he has given to his Church; it is limited by the end for which it was appointed, which is the Church's edification and not for her destruction; it is limited by the divinly revealed doctrine that, besides the ecclesiastical order, there is also a civil order, besides the spiritual power there is also a secular power which proceeds from God and which in its own order is supreme and which in all things morally lawful must be obeyed for conscience sake." 3. But as regards abstract theories about the relation between Church and state, nothing can be more unjust and unfair than from the interpretations which opponents of the Church may put upon isolated expressions in by-gone ages, or upon scientific investigations of Catholic theologians, canonists, or philosophers to draw conclusions that stand in complete contradiction to the conduct observed by the Church towards the state in all her public dealings. 4. Yet further: that modern theory which regards the state as representative of reason, and as simply omnipotent, declares even those truths to be dangerous to the state which are clearly contained in God's word and about which Christian believers of every age, of all nations and of all denominations have always been agreed. Ever since Christianity has existed, it has been taught and believed that Christ founded a church; that the Church is distinct from the state; that the guardianship of Christ's teaching, the administration of His law, and the dispensing of the means of grace, were committed to Church authority and not to the civil power; that it is the bounden duty before God of the rulers of Christian nations not to do injury to Christianity and the Church, but to protect them, and therefore in all their proceedings, to act with reference to the truths of Christianity

and the laws of the Church. All these principles necessarily follow from the Christian view of things. It is, therefore, beyond measure misplaced and unjust to stigmatize these principles as dangerous to the state, when this is so only from the point of view of those whose views are altogether unchristian. For the rest, it is greatly to be deplored when questions difficult in themselves and which the Church has not decided are needlessly dragged into public discussion, and thereby the simplest relations are complicated and men's minds excited and disturbed. But it is just as little permissible to draw the conclusion that there is any danger to Germany or to the other confessions, to be feared from such Christian and Catholic principles as were enunciated for purely Catholic nations, amongst whom the unity of the faith subsisted. It is not to be expected from the Church on the one hand that she should recognize as absolute truth either principles that perhaps under given circumstances, might be right and proper, still less the abstract theories of modern liberalism, and that for the love of these she should deny really Christian principles. In fine we have a simple remark to make in answer to the suspicions arising out of real or pretended Catholic theories, about the relations between Church and state, and out of the supreme teaching authority of the pope. The principles and maxims of the Apostolic See are exactly the same to-day as they were at the time when the German government carried on negotiations and concluded treaties with it as to the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. What then prevents the state from regulating ecclesiastical affairs in like manner to-day? The Catholics of Germany desire nothing for their Church save her freedom and independence. To these they have always had a legal right, and they have actually enjoyed them without danger up to the most recent period. But exceptional legislation, state supervision of ecclesiastical affairs,

impediments to the free profession of their faith and the free practice of their religious and ecclesiastical life—these they cannot consent to and they must repel. The Catholic portion of the German nation is, with the exception of a proportionally small number of persons who have either lapsed into utter unbelief or at least have given up all Catholic principles—devoted heart and soul to its Catholic faith. We, who are bishops, know ourselves to be one with our whole clergy and the entire body of Catholic people, in faith and all principles of religion. We cannot persuade ourselves that the German imperial government or the governments of the separate nations of Germany, can have resolved to be guided, in their treatment of the Catholic Church by principles, the consequences of which—as the government cannot possibly conceal from itself—must produce the most disastrous state of things for German Catholics and for the German fatherland. On the contrary we would rather hope that as regards us, our clergy and the Catholic people, mistrust may give way to the returning conviction that our Catholic conscience is the best security for loyalty and obedience to king and country; and that the government may recognize the duty of maintaining and protecting the Catholic Church in the undiminished enjoyment of that freedom and independence which is hers by the divine law, which she has possessed in Germany time out of mind, and to the possession of which in Germany she has acquired so strong a title. By virtue of that freedom and independence of the Catholic Church in Germany we claim it as her indisputable right that bishops, cathedral and other clergy, having cure of souls, should be appointed only in accordance with the laws of the Church and with the conventions legally subsisting between Church and state.

Now according to those laws and conventions, no

clergyman having care of souls, or religious teacher, can be regarded by us or the Catholic faithful as lawfully appointed unless he have received his mission from his own bishop; neither can any bishop be recognized by us as lawfully appointed unless he have received his mission from the pope. Upon the like grounds of ecclesiastical law and convention between Church and state, we also claim it as an inalienable right that the intercourse of the bishops with the Apostolic See and with the faithful be unimpeded. In like manner we claim for ourselves and for all Catholics the right to profess our holy Catholic faith at all times and every-where throughout Germany, freely and in its complete integrity: to govern ourselves according to its principles; and in no wise to be compelled to tolerate within the communion of our Church any person or persons not in all respects in agreement with Catholic faith and in submission to the Church's teachings. Everything done in prejudice of the free exercise of our worship or of the freedom of religious life, and as a necessary consequence everything done in prejudice of the freedom of our religious congregations as such, we must regard as an injury done to the existence of our Church and of its guaranteed rights.

Moreover we specify in particular and claim as an essential and inalienable right of the Catholic Church the liberty of educating her children in conformity with the Church's laws and of exerting that influence on Catholic schools of all ranks, which affords security to Catholics for the Catholic culture and education of their youths. Also we claim for the Church the liberty of founding institutions wherein learning on Catholic principles may be fostered, the liberty of possessing such institutions and of conducting them independently.

Lastly we assert and maintain the sacred character of

Christian marriage as a sacrament of the Catholic Church, as also the rights appertaining to the Catholic Church in relation to that sacrament in virtue of the divine institution. Such is the public and unanimous testimony which we feel ourselves constrained publicly and solemnly to make before God, to whom we must one day give an account of the discharge of our pastoral office and before the whole world. We believe that we have acted according to the words of Holy Scripture, *Credidi propter quod locutus sum.* The principles which we have now enunciated, will ever be the rule of our conduct; and we deem it our bounden duty to make for them every sacrifice, even the most severe; for they are the principles which our Divine Master gave us when he said: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

† Paulus, Archbishop of Cologne;
† Gregor, Archbishop of Munich Freysing;
† Michael, Archbishop of Bamberg;
† Heinrich, Prince-Bishop of Breslau;
† Andreas Bishop of Strasburg;
† Peter Joseph, Bishop of Limburg;
† Christoph. Florentius, Bishop of Fulda;
† William Emmanuel, Bishop of Mainz;
† Ludwig, Bishop of Leontopolis and Vicar-Apostolic in the kingdom of Saxony;
† Conrad, Bishop of Paderborn;
† Johannes, Bishop of Culm;
† Ignatius, Bishop of Regensburg;
† Pancratius, Bishop of Augsburg;
† Mathias, Bishop of Treves;
† Leopold, Bishop of Eichstart;
† Lothair, Bishop of Leuca *in partibus*, Administrator of the diocese of Freiburg;

† Johann Bernard, Bishop of Münster,
† Johannes Valentin, Bishop of Würzburg;
† Adolph, Bishop of Agathopolis *in partibus*;
† Carl Joseph, Bishop of Rottenburg;
† Wilhelm, Bishop of Hilderscheim;
† Daniel Bonifacius, Bishop of Speyer;
† Heinrich, Bishop of Passau;
† Johannes Heinrich, Bishop of Osnabrück;
Hoppe, Canon of the Cathedral, representing Philip, Bishop of Ermeland:

Fulda, September 20th 1872.

MEMORANDUM

OF THE

CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE OF PRUSSIA TO HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER.

A few days back the king's ministers laid before the parliament the drafts of certain laws which trench most deeply upon the whole internal mode of existence of the Catholic Church and on her rights, and the parliament has been requested to give its consent as soon as possible to these projected laws. Apart from the fact that according to all natural laws and positive jurisprudence and by immemorial usage, the relations in German countries between the state and the Church can only be ordered legally and to any good purpose by mutual understanding between both—independent of this, the Prussian bishops had at least a right to expect that some occasion would be afforded them of expressing themselves on the subject of such important projects, of laws affecting the Catholic Church, and of making known Catholic principles on the subject. They would then have been in a position to accept certain individual dispositions of the projected laws without a breach of their duty. With regard to other parts of the projected laws, an agreement might have been entered into with the Holy See. But now that these laws, although they affect the whole internal life of the Church, have been introduced by the king's government, without any reference to the ecclesiastical authorities, and in vir-

tue of the omnipotence which is claimed by the state; without too, any previous understanding and negotiation with the established ecclesiastical organs; nothing is left to the bishops save to enter their formal and solemn protest against all those dispositions of the said laws which trench on the natural and fairly acquired rights of the Catholic Church, and which attack the rights of conscience and of religion belonging to all Catholics.

We permit ourselves to add the following observations touching certain points, but, as in the inevitable despatch which we are constrained to use, these remarks by no means exhaust the subject, we reserve to ourselves the right of giving further explanation on points of law and on the grounds of what we say. According to the Catholic doctrine, which we Catholics hold and believe unconditionally as true, because resting on divine revelation, and which we are certainly as justified in believing as we are in holding that our freedom of conscience cannot be touched; according to the nature of things, to natural law and the laws of reason; according to the historical and justly won rights of the Catholic Church in Germany and of the Catholic portions of the monarchy which were not unconditionally incorporated with the kingdom of Prussia, but whose rights to the practice, as in former days, of their religion, and to the upholding by the state of their Church, were guaranteed to them by the solemn promise of the monarch; by right of the agreements made between the Holy See and the Prussian crown or the respective sovereigns of Germany and of bulls founded on the same; finally in virtue and by right of the dispositions of the Prussian constitutional charter, guaranteeing this right to the Catholic Church as to the other great Christian confessions—the Catholic Church in Prussia professes the inalienable and unassailable right to subsist in the complete en-

tirety of her doctrine and code of morals, of her constitution and discipline, and to order and administer her affairs by means of her lawful organs. But the very first and most essential right of every Catholic bishop and of every individual Catholic is this: to be a member of that same one Catholic Church, whose supreme head is the pope, and, therefore, to be and to remain in the unity of the faith and in unhindered living union and communication with the pope, who, according to Catholic doctrine, is by divine appointment the foundation and the supreme pastor of the whole Catholic Church and of all parts of the same.

The second and no less essential right of every Catholic episcopal see, and of every individual Catholic, is to be governed and guided in all religious and ecclesiastical matters by none other than their lawfully appointed ecclesiastical superiors, the bishops, in subordination to the pope; seeing that the same are, according to our Catholic faith, established by God for the purpose of governing their spiritual subjects, according to the precepts of Christ and the laws of the Catholic Church. In accordance with these a bishop has principally a threefold duty towards his diocese, which duty has been laid upon him by God, and which corresponds to the right, also given to him by God, of fulfilling this duty freely and without restraint or hindrance. Firstly: the duty and the right to proclaim the doctrine and moral code of the Catholic Church, to preserve the same intact, and to administer the Church's means of grace. Secondly: The duty and the right to choose, to educate, to send forth and to induct into their ecclesiastical offices, in accordance with the laws of the Church, the priests and inferior servants of the Church who support him in his apostolic office and act as his helpers and representatives. Thirdly: To the bishop, belong the right and duty of admonishing ecclesiastics to fulfill the obligations

of their respective offices, and of exhorting the faithful to accomplish their duties as Christians, and should they obstinately refuse to obey the teaching of the Church, her doctrine and her laws, it becomes further the bishop's duty and right to exclude the offenders from communion with the Church, and, if they are ecclesiastics, to deprive them of their spiritual office and forbid them to exercise any of the functions of a priest.

These three duties are inextricably bound up together, so that neither can exist without the other. The bishop cannot preserve intact the body of the Catholic doctrine in faith and morals; he cannot rightly and worthily guard and administer the means of grace appointed by Christ, and dispense the same to the faithful, if he cannot educate, superintend, send forth, and place according to their merits and capacities, the clergy who watch over the purity of the faith, and administer the means of grace to the people, as his representatives and by virtue of his commission. And he cannot do his duty in any of the above-mentioned points—least of all can he preserve the Catholic faith from falsification and the constitution of the Church from destruction—if he has not the power of removing heretical or schismatical ecclesiastics such as have in other ways proved unworthy of their office, and if he cannot exclude persistent deniers of the Church's articles of belief, and opponents or enemies of the constitution and laws of the Church, from her communion. The proposed laws attack and annihilate all these essential rights of the Catholic Church and of her bishops, rights without which the bishops will find it impossible to fulfill their most vital duties. And the projected laws attack and annihilate these in many respects.

The projected laws on the education of ecclesiastics and on their appointment admit, it is true, the right of a bishop to appoint to vacant benefices or to any ecclesiastical

office; but it limits this right of appointment at the outset, by claiming for the state the right not only of making objections to such appointments, but of deciding in the last resort on the justice of the said objections. True this right of objection is further declared to be limited to cases in which it can be exercised on the ground of danger to the community or the state resulting from such appointments. But we cannot conceal from ourselves that circumstances might occur in which, under cover of such a right of exclusion, the gravest offenses might be committed against the freedom of the Church, the integrity of the ecclesiastical estate, and against those ecclesiastics who are amongst the worthiest and most faithful to the duties of their calling: and all this might easily come to pass, if to the civil authorities of the state, alone and exclusively, is committed the power of weighing and deciding on the objections which may be made to the appointment of any ecclesiastic, and on the facts which may or may not justify such objections. Under any circumstances, however, this provision of the proposed law would still be in direct contradiction with the actually existing rights of the Catholic Church, and with the self-government guaranteed to her by the Prussian constitution.

If the Church on her part, in consequence of mutual agreements, gave to certain governments the right to raise objections against the appointment of any ecclesiastic, and that only on purely municipal and political grounds, the state cannot, therefore, attribute such a right to itself of its sole authority; and it is, furthermore, to be considered that such a right of exemption was never claimed and granted, save on the occasion of some one definite appointment, and that only when the appointment was to the post of parish priest—whilst this right of objection is extended by the projected law to the appointment of simple vicars or assis-

tant priests, as also to such appointments as are merely temporary, which is, as far as we know, an entirely new claim, never put forward before anywhere. But this claim is closely connected, as the draft of the law expressly gives us to understand, with a second and far greater encroachment on ecclesiastical liberty and independence, viz., the dispositions regarding the education of the clergy. As a whole, these dispositions are a most ruinous attack on the life of the Church, on the highest interests of religion, on the freedom of the Catholic faith. We propose to express our opinion with the openness which becomes our office, and which we owe to the state. The most essential of all the duties, and the most important of all the rights belonging to the Church and to the bishops, is the duty and right of educating the clergy. This right has not, during eighteen centuries, been denied to the Church at any epoch or in any country in the world, except, perhaps, during the last century in Austria, and in the course of our own century, and that only partially, in the German states; but never to such an extent as by the last projected laws for Prussia. In every country where the Catholic Church is in existence, her right to educate her priests in ecclesiastical schools and seminaries has been acknowledged to be self-evident; this has been the case in England and North America, in Holland and Belgium. In Italy, Spain, and France, where the Church has been laid waste by political revolutions which have at times subjected her to bloody persecutions, even there it never occurred to anyone, when once the exercise of the Catholic religion was allowed and was no longer penal, to dispute the right of the bishops to educate their clergy. The Church speaking through the Œcumenical Council of Trent promulgated this law, that those who devote themselves to the ecclesiastical state shall be educated from their youth upwards in seminaries, and that

every diocese shall possess such a seminary. The bulls published on this subject expressly prescribe the carrying into effect of this law in all Prussian bishoprics. If the Prussian bishops have allowed the students of theology to attend the lectures of the universities of Bonn and Breslau, as well as those of the Academy of Münster, and other German colleges, they did not therefore—because they could not—intend to abandon the right and duty which belonged to their office, of directing the education and the theological cultivation of their clerics. For this reason they could only permit them to attend the university lectures and courses on the condition that the several faculties of theology at those state establishments, should be in due subordination, in matters of faith and theological science, to the ecclesiastical authorities, in such wise that the bishops might have a fit guarantee, by means of the subordination and the known Catholic opinions of the professors, for the Catholicity of the teachers and of the doctrines taught. And in the same way the bishops required the like guarantee, by means of well-ordered houses for the reception of students in theology during the time of their academical studies, for the preservation of purity of morals, conduct and piety, among the young theological students; and in general they exacted from the authorities of the university that due regard should be had to the requirements of the Catholic Church and the candidates for the priesthood. If on the other hand it should happen, as for instance, it has lately at Bonn—that the majority of the professors in the faculty of theology should be apostates from the faith of the Church and in revolt against ecclesiastical authority; if nevertheless the said professors should be allowed to retain their positions as teachers of Catholic theology, and should be treated as the acknowledged representatives of that faculty; if further, the majority of

the remaining professors at the university take their part —this constitutes a state of things which is altogether intolerable, and the permanent toleration of which would be a grave fault on the part of the bishops. The following is briefly the actual state of things, and—in connection with the preamble of the projected law in which the reasons for the need of such a measure are set forth—it shows the terrible practical results which such a law would bring about. The law does not, it is true, formally withdraw the right of theological instruction and the general superintendence of the education of ecclesiastics from the bishops of the Church; but it makes such superintendence in great measure illusory. The draft of the bill orders: first, that "each student in theology—under pain of exclusion from every spiritual office—shall spend three months at a German university, and the bishops are forbidden to name any one to such an office for the future who has not complied with this condition." That the inhabitants of each diocese shall only be allowed to study at actually existing seminaries, which are acknowledged by the state as authorized establishments for the study of theology, and that all other such establishments shall be forbidden, are odious exceptional dispositions framed in order to lay the said ecclesiastical establishments under a disadvantage, and showing plainly that the same are only to be tolerated within the most cramped limits and only as a necessary stop-gap. The rule which positively forbids students at the university to belong at the same time to a seminary, is hardly intelligible, save on the supposition that this rule is meant to operate as a bar to the arrangement which has always been adopted by the houses of ecclesiastical study at Bonn and Münster. Next, "all students in theology are required under a like penalty, not only to pass the concluding university examination in common with all other students, but further, the students

in theology are required to undergo another examination in philology, philosophy and history, after having completed the three years' course at a university; and this last examination is prescribed to no other faculty except that of theology." The object of this odious exceptional legislation and of the three years' course at a university, is distinctly and expressly explained to be not so much to ascertain the acquirements of the students of theology in those branches of knowledge, as to exercise an influence on their views and principles. A national education is what has been asked for, and those who ask for it maintain that an ecclesiastical education produces anti-national and unpatriotic views. We repel this ever-recurring accusation most positively, and have always done so. We, the bishops, our faithful clergy, and believing Catholics of all ranks, are second to none in loyalty to our king and to the state, and in honest love for our country. The education which makes good priests and faithful servants of the Church of our theological students, also makes them loyal and conscientious subjects of the civil power. On the other hand we have, alas! only too good reason to fear that the expression "national education" really means only anti-Catholic education and that the object of it is to inoculate the aspirant to the ecclesiastical state with anti-Catholic dispositions and views wherever such a proceeding is possible. In the midst of the attacks and temptations which have resulted from the apostasy of a certain number of professors of theology, not only the ecclesiastics but also the theological students in all parts of Germany, have shown the most loyal and immovable fidelity to the faith, to the consolation of their bishops and to that of the whole Catholic population. We fear that the above-mentioned prescriptions of the projected laws are chiefly intended to pave the way for and to bring about a change in those

views, and to shake this loyalty to the faith. We fear this because certain people have talked a great deal about a so-called Ultramontane spirit, which is supposed to have got the upper hand among the clergy, and which may be vanquished by a "national education." But the spirit which has upheld the faith and loyalty to the Church of our clergy, is no artificially-produced party spirit, but is the pure and unalloyed spirit of Catholic faith, the always constant spirit of the whole Catholic Church; it is the spirit of our Catholic population, inherited from their Catholic forefathers from time immemorial, the spirit which they imbibed in their Father's house and which they will always continue to imbibe. If, therefore, this spirit of loyalty is to be weakened, changed, alloyed, and finally stifled by national educational, we should certainly and unhesitatingly prefer an open, aye and even a bloody persecution, to such a "national education." It would be neither more nor less than a continuous temptation to youths, who feel a vocation for the priesthood, to the abandonment of that vocation and even to apostasy from the Catholic faith.

With reference to the clauses of the projected law dealing with the time and course of study in public schools, with all houses of education for boys and with boys' seminaries,* we have already remarked that the Church has a positive and natural right to possess these last-named establishments. In the whole Catholic world are to be found such or the like institutions which exist in obedience to the laws of the Church. In Germany the bishops have for the most part confined themselves to establishing houses of education whose pupils follow the course of studies of the

* These answer to the *petits seminaires* in France and the fact of a boy going through his school course there does not at all necessarily imply that he is to pass on to the "Grand Seminaire" or eventually enter the ecclesiastical state.

state gymnasium* of the locality, and in those places where the bishops have seen fit to establish schools of another kind they have done so with the approbation of the government officials and in accordance with the demands of the existing system of public instruction. The pupils of these ecclesiastical schools as well as those of the mere houses of education † previously alluded to, have always distinguished themselves by their superior acquirements and moral conduct, and this according to the testimony both of the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities. They have always passed the examinations prescribed by the state well, and in very many cases, have been the most favorably noticed. But now the founding of these institutions is to be prohibited, and the existing ones are to be left to die out; and here, too, the one solitary ground of dissatisfaction against these boys and young men is their religious spirit and their love for the Church. These houses of study and educational establishments offer to the children of many Christian families, especially those living in the country, the only means of gratifying their most ardent desire and their expressed wishes to study for entering the ecclesiastical state. Without this resource, they would in many cases be forced to give up the idea of studying, or, which is worse, they would have to prosecute their studies at a distance from their home and under the most unfavorable conditions would suffer grievously both in piety and morality, and in many cases would go to rack and ruin.

For the Church, moreover, these establishments offer the best possible means of recruiting worthy ecclesiastics in sufficient numbers. To suppress them is, therefore, tantamount to decimating the ecclesiastical state and injuring the most sacred interests of the Church and the Catholic population. And what unfairness is shown in this law!

* Public school supported by government. † Boarding houses in fact.

For under the untrue and injurious pretext that the education received in such houses of study is baneful to the intellect, the character and the patriotism of the pupils—under this pretext the Catholic Church is forbidden to do that which is permitted to every other branch of the community and which in them is looked upon as useful and praiseworthy. The state forms its officers from their earliest youth by means of military academies: private schools of all kinds and for all professions are completely free to exist; to the Church alone and to the Catholics it is proposed to refuse the right of having and of maintaining schools for the children of Catholic parents and for pupils anxious to enter the ecclesiastical state, to whom, above all others, such establishments are necessary. With regard to the projected laws on the exercise of the Church's disciplinary power, we will only make the following remarks:—The primary and fundamental right of every society, without which no society can assert its own existence, is the right to exclude all such members as do not submit to the laws of the association and who labor to subvert such laws. The Catholic Church, whose essential spirit is one of love and gentleness, makes but exceedingly sparing use of this right, and then only for the improvement of those who need it, and when an unavoidable duty to the mass of the community compels her to the exercise thereof. Nevertheless, when such a duty is clearly hers, she must put it into practice, and she cannot neglect the same without destroying herself. Especially, therefore, if a Catholic priest and teacher of the Catholic religion abandons or falls off from the Catholic faith, signifies his intention of refusing obedience to the ecclesiastical authority, and becomes an active enemy of the faith and a contemner of the Church—in such case, especially, is she obliged to exclude such an one, not only from all spiritual office, but also from the communion of the Church.

It is, therefore, natural that we should be astonished to find in the projected laws a clause forbidding excommunications to be pronounced as a punishment for political votes and for other offenses of the same nature; a clause which is as devoid of meaning and application to actual facts as the next one, by which it is forbidden to use bodily chastisement as a means of discipline for ecclesiastics. But such clauses in a law are certainly calculated to arouse prejudice in the minds of the ignorant and of non-Catholics in general, and to fill them with aversion to the Catholic Church and towards her servants. It is only in the event —from which may God preserve us—of laws being promulgated by the state which should empower or order members of the Catholic Church to rebel against that Church, it is only on the hypothesis of such an event that any conflict would arise between the laws of the state and the exercise of the Church's penal and disciplinary powers. But in such an event, we Catholics should find ourselves in a state of persecution, and then we, the bishops, should be bound to do our duty and should do it, even were we to be visited, not only with fines but with much harder penalties. And here we cannot refrain from expressing how deeply hurt we feel at the threats of punishment by means of fines, held out so frequently in the projected laws with especial reference to the bishops. Truly he would be an unworthy bishop whom any consideration of pecuniary loss would cause to waver even for a second in the discharge of his duty. We must, therefore, raise our voices in most solemn protest against any and every restriction and hindrance of the ecclesiastical disciplinary powers. Nothing will avail to prevent us from defending and upholding the purity of the faith, the existence and the constitution of the Church by those means which are prescribed by the Church's laws. It is quite incomprehensible too

that the projected laws, whilst permitting the exclusion of a member from the Church, should forbid that exclusion to be made known. It is notorious that the principal object of the excommunication is to protect the public interests of the community of believers by putting them on their guard against the attacks and offenses of individuals. Passing over a variety of other points we wish to call attention to certain clauses, the object of which, it would seem, is to protect the clergy from the power of the bishops. One of the clauses to which we allude, contains the provision that no ecclesiastic shall be condemned *disciplinariter* unheard and without due observance of lawful forms; that none shall be ordered to pass more than three months in any of the establishments set apart for the reception of unworthy clerics (*Demeriten--Austalt*); and that for the execution of such sentences the knowledge and superintendence of the civil authorities are every-where necessary. But we desire to call attention still more to the clause which establishes an appeal from the decisions of ecclesiastical courts to the state; as also to that one which pronounces the abolition of the so-called auxiliary parishes as they now exist on the left bank of the Rhine and which forbids bishops to transfer a priest from one parish to another.

We have acquired the certainty that the entire body of Catholic clergy will not be in the least disposed to be grateful towards the promoters of the projected laws for all their provisions. The clergy knows perfectly that as regards the disposal of vacant benefices and the transfer of priests from one post to another, the bishops are conscientiously guided by the knowledge of the duties pertaining to their office and by the prescription of the canon law, which protects the rights and interests of ecclesiastics in the most scrupulous manner; that the bishops are invaria-

bly guided by that law, and that in the case of the succursal parishes introduced by French legislation, the canonical principles are also duly taken into consideration. As regards the exercise of disciplinary powers the cases where it is required are extremely rare amongst our worthy and excellent clergy. If, however, an ecclesiastic has been guilty of any offense or shortcoming, any interference of the civil authorities will be far more painful to him than submission to the just and mild penance imposed on him by his bishop.

The appeal from the ecclesiastical tribunal to any civil one is destructive to the autonomy of the Church, an effacement of the line of demarcation between state and Church. It is, therefore, impossible that the bishops should consent to acknowledge such a power of appeal as practicable or valid, or that they should make the least alteration in the laws of the Church by which such an appeal is forbidden. In this case, too, we are certain that no ecclesiastic who has not already abandoned his calling and his faith will ever consent to make use of such means, or will give any consent to such official appeals being made to the civil power in his name. At the same time that the projected laws attempt to render the most essential right of the Church—that of preserving the purity of her members by means of excommunication, suspension, deprivation of office and, in general, by the exercise of her lawful discipline—more and more nugatory, the same laws ascribe on the other hand to the state the most extensive powers of deprivation of office, with regard to all ecclesiastics including bishops themselves. Nevertheless as surely as the Church will never favor those who have been guilty of any crime against civil or political order, so surely can she never admit that the state possesses the right to suspend the execution of essentially ecclesiastical penalties, and to deprive any one

of offices which have been intrusted to those who occupy them, not by the state, but by the Church herself. According to the draft of the law it appears that a state tribunal for the trial of ecclesiastical causes is to be established. Once for all we cannot acknowledge the competence of such a court in such cases, and we cannot but look upon its establishment as a step towards transforming the Catholic Church, which is by divine appointment free and independent, into a non-Catholic state church. Even should we find ourselves brought for this expression of our opinion before this or any other state tribunal, we hope, by the grace of God, that we shall not be allowed to lack courage to testify before the same as steadfastly in favor of our faith and to endure even the hardest things for the liberty of the Church, as joyfully as incalculable numbers of our ancestors and of our former brethren in the episcopate have testified and suffered before, whose examples have been handed down from past times to encourage us to imitate them.

In conclusion we are compelled to issue the most determined protest against the proviso of the bill which, restricting the exercise of the disciplinary power to Prussian ecclesiastical authorities, interferes with the jurisdiction of the head of the Church. Upon peace between state and Church is based the welfare of both and of society. The bishops, the priests and the Catholic people are neither opposed to the kingdom of Prussia, nor to the empire of Germany. They are neither intolerant nor unjust, nor hostile towards other denominations. Their only wish is to live in peace with all the world. The only thing they demand is to be permitted to profess, unmolested, the faith, the divinity, the truth which they acknowledge. All they insist upon is, that the integrity of their religion and Church and liberty of conscience be respected. They

have made up their minds, with all legitimate means at their disposal, to defend their lawful freedom and staunchly to vindicate the very smallest of their ecclesiastical rights. In the interests of the state no less than the Church, from the very bottom of our hearts, we entreat and adjure the rulers of this kingdom and all those having an influence upon the conduct of public affairs, to retrace their steps from the fatal path entered upon; to restore peace and the consciousness of an acknowledged and lawful position to the members of the Catholic Church, numbering so many millions in Prussia and the German empire at large; and to refrain from forcing upon us a set of laws, which, while every bishop would find them incompatible with his oath of office, and every priest and layman contrary to the dictates of his conscience, would entail endless misfortunes upon our beloved country, were they ever carried out by force.

† Paul, Archbishop of Cologne;
† Mieceslas, Archbishop of Posen;
† Henry, Prince-Bishop of Breslau;
† John, Bishop of Culm;
† Andrew, Bishop of Strasburg;
† Peter, Bishop of Limburg;
† Florentius, Bishop of Fulda;
† Matthias, Bishop of Treves;
† Conrad, Bishop of Paderborn;
† Philip, Bishop of Ermeland;
† Henry, Bishop of Osnaburg;
† Bernard, Bishop of Münster;
† William, Bishop of Hilderscheim;
† Lothair, Bishop-Administrator of Freiburg;
† Adolphus, Bishop of Agathapolis, chaplain-general of the army.

DRAFT

OF

LEGISLATIVE LAW.

I, William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, etc., with the consent of the two Houses of the Landtag, etc. ordain as follows:

I.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

1.—The power of ecclesiastical discipline can only be exercised by those Church authorities who shall be of German nationality.

2.—The disciplinary penalties affecting liberty or property can only be applied after those who may have incurred them shall have been heard. Removal from functions, whether by withdrawal of employment, transfer, suspension or forced retirement, etc., must be preceded by a judicial act or procedure. In each of such cases the decision passed must be accompanied by a written statement of the reasons on which it is based.

3.—Corporal correction, inflicted as ecclesiastical disciplinary punishment, is prohibited.

4.—Fines in money must not exceed thirty thalers; or if the monthly emoluments of the person amerced exceed that sum, then the fines inflicted cannot exceed the total of such emoluments.

5.—The deprivation of liberty must not be other than reclusion in a house of ecclesiastical penance. Such reclu-

sion must not exceed three months. Reclusion in any extraordinary house of penitential discipline is prohibited.

6.—Penitential establishments are placed under the surveillance of the state. Their regulations must be submitted to the approbation of the Oberpräsident of the province. He is authorized to visit the establishments and to take cognizance of all their arrangements. Before receiving any penitent, the director of the establishment, under cover of the authority by which the sentence of condemnation has been passed, must make a report thereof within 24 hours to the Oberpräsident. The director must keep a register in which shall be entered the surname and Christian name of the penitent, the causes of his detention, the date of his entry and that of his departure from the house. A tabulated return of ,the penitents or persons subjected to reclusion must be furnished to the Oberpräsident at the end of every year.

7.—At the same time as that judgment is signified to the condemned person, the Oberpräsident must also receive information of every disciplinary decision inflicting a fine of twenty thalers or upwards, or inflicting a reclusion in a house of penance of fifteen days or upwards, or inflicting suspension from functions. Whenever any such penal sentence is signified to any condemned person, such signification must contain a statement of the causes which shall have called forth such sentence.

8.—The Oberpräsident is authorized to enforce compliance with the regulations specified in paragraphs vi. and vii. by fines not exceeding 1,000 thalers. The menace or infliction of the same fine may be reiterated until obedience to the law shall have been obtained.

9.—The consent of the state to the enforcement of disciplinary punishment shall not be given unless the same shall have been declared just by the Oberpräsident after due enquiry had.

II.

OF APPEALS TO THE STATE.

10.—An appeal to the state is allowed against every disciplinary penalty inflicted by sentence of the ecclesiastical authorities.

(a) When the penalty shall have been inflicted by ecclesiastical functionaries not recognized by the state.

(b) When the regulations of paragraph ii. shall not have been complied with.

(c) When the penalty shall be illegal.

(d) When the penalty shall have been inflicted either (aa) in punishment of any act which is obligatory by virtue of the laws of the state or of the decisions of superior courts, or (bb) in punishment of the exercise or refusal to exercise the right of election or voting; or (cc) in punishment of any appeal to the state according to the regulations made in this present law.

11.—The appeal shall also take place whenever (a) removal from ecclesiastical functions is a disciplinary measure taken against the will of the party affected by it, and the said measure shall be considered arbitrary (b) whenever after temporary suspension, further proceedings are unwarrantably delayed.

12.—The right of appeal may also be exercised by any person on whom any sentence shall have been pronounced, if such person shall have stood upon his legal rights and shall have made thereupon ineffectual application to the ecclesiastical superiors. And if the condemnation so incurred shall in any manner affect the public interest, then the Oberpräsident himself may make the appeal, but only after ineffectual application shall have been made to the ecclesiastical superiors, or when the proper time for making such application shall have expired.

13.—The appeal must be made in writing directed to the Court of Justice for Ecclesiastical Affairs. Four weeks are allowed for making appeal by every person under condemnation under any of the cases specified in paragraph x. The said weeks are to commence from the day on which the sentence shall have been signified to the person condemned. No limitation as to the time exists in respect of the appeal when the same shall be made by the Oberpräsident.

14.—The effect of the appeal shall be to suspend the decision of the first judge. The Court of Justice may, however, make an order that said decision do take effect. The Court of Justice may, in the other case, compel the other judge under a penalty not exceeding 1,000 thalers to suspend execution of his judgment.

15.—The appeal must be reduced to writing within the fifteen days next ensuing after its declaration. The court may, however, on application, prolong the time allowed.

16.—The declaration of appeal, with a copy of the written statement, must be notified to the ecclesiastical judges, so that they may furnish copies of all documents in the proceedings within four weeks. The said judges shall be bound to furnish such copies under a penalty in case of refusal of 1,000 thalers.

17. The Court of Justice shall decide as to the means by which information as to the facts in the case shall be obtained. The court shall appoint a sworn procurator to conduct the cause.

18. The sentence shall follow upon a full hearing of both sides *viva voce* in a public sitting of the court. The court shall have powers at its discretion of sitting with closed doors or of admitting certain persons and none others.

19. The court shall have the right to require the atten-

dance of the appellant and of the ecclesiastical judges. They may, however, appear by their counsel or attorney. In case of their failure to appear, the court shall take immediate cognizance of the fact. The Minister of Worship must receive information of the causes in which appeals are made. He may cause himself to be represented at the hearing by an official appointed for the purpose. If the appeal shall have been made by the Oberpräsident, then the appearance of the representative of the Minister of Worship shall serve for the appearance of the appellant.

20. At the public hearing one of the assessors of the court shall read aloud a full statement of the case and of the motives of the appeal. After such reading the representatives of the ecclesiastical authorities and the Minister of Worship shall be heard.

21. The court shall give sentence without being bound by any positive legal rules of conviction, but according to the whole tenor of the arguments on both sides and according to its own convictions. The sentence must consist either of a dismissal of the appeal or else of a reversal of the sentence appealed against. The sentence of the court shall be accompanied by a statement of the reasons on which it is based and shall be pronounced either at that same sitting or else at a subsequent sitting of which notice shall then be given. It must be notified both to the Minister of Worship and to the ecclesiastical authorities.

22. A statement of the proceedings shall be drawn up, which shall contain a full report of the arguments together with the names of the persons present, and a statement of the principle issues that shall have been raised. The said record shall be signed by the assessor of the court and the procurators of the parties.

23. In case of the reversal of the sentence appealed against, the ecclesiastical authorities must immediately re-

move their condemnation, and suspend the operation of any measures already taken towards carrying the same into effect. The Oberpräsident is hereby required to cause the sentence of the court to be executed, and to punish by a fine of 1,000 thalers any delay or resistance, as provided by paragraph viii.

III.

INTERVENTION OF THE COURT WITHOUT APPEAL.

24. Ecclesiastical functionaries who shall, in the discharge of their functions, transgress the laws of the state or the regulations of civil authority may be deposed on demand of those in authority, if their continuance in their functions shall be incompatible with public order.

25. The demand for such deposition must be previously notified to the ecclesiastical authorities so that they may take measures for the removal of the accused. If the accused have no superior in Germany, then he must be required by the civil authorities to quit his functions. Such requisition shall be made in writing by the Oberpräsident and shall contain a statement of reasons.

26. If the requisition shall not be complied with, within the time prescribed, or if the ecclesiastical authorities shall not within the prescribed time have removed the accused from his functions, then the Oberpräsident shall lodge a complaint to the court of justice as introductory to proceedings.

27. Upon the demand of the Court of Justice, the superior civil tribunal under whose jurisdiction the accused is officially domiciled shall order a competent judge to take initiatory proceedings which shall be conducted according requirements of the Penal Code. The instruction shall be drawn up by a functionary whom the Minister of Worship shall appoint specially for the purpose.

28. In provision of the result of the instruction, the tribunal may, if it see fit, order proceedings to be dropped. In this case there shall be furnished to the accused a copy of the determination of the tribunal, together with the reasons on which it is grounded.

29. If the proceedings are not dropped and the cause come on to a hearing, the officer of the administration shall summon the accused to appear. The accused may employ an attorney or counsel for his defense. The Minister of Worship shall also receive information of the proceedings.

30. The provisions of paragraphs xvii, xviii, xx, xxi and xxii shall be applicable. In the sentence the tribunal shall express either the acquittal of the accused or his deposition from his functions.

31. Ecclesiastical functionaries, who, after their legal deposition according to paragraph xxx, shall discharge any function whatsoever shall be punishable by fine of from one to 100 thalers.

IV.

THE COURT OF JUSTICE FOR ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

32. A court of justice for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs is created. It shall be called "The Royal Court for Ecclesiastical Affairs" and shall sit at Berlin.

33. The court shall consist of eleven members. The president and at least five members of the court shall be magistrates of the civil order. Seven members of the court shall be present at every public hearing and shall take part in every decision. The president and not less than three members in every cause shall be members of the judicial order. A regulation to be made by the judicial body and the government shall fix the course of the public sittings for hearing causes and the mode of procedure, as also the position of the different judges in the causes.

34. The members of the court shall be appointed by the king upon the nomination of the Minister of Worship; those already filling judicial functions, for the duration of such functions; and the others for life. The rights and duties of the members shall be similar to those of the members of the other tribunals.

35. The ruling of the court shall be final and without appeal.

36. The judicial and administrative authorities shall be required to execute the sentences of the Court of Justice for Ecclesiastical Affairs. Its decision shall be at once carried into effect as matters of administration. The practice of the court shall be in all respects conformable to the provisions regulating the proceedings of the superior tribunals.

37. Payments made into the court in any proceedings must be in ready money only.

Given under our great sign manual and royal seal:

(Countersigned), Leonhardt Falk.

Appended to the foregoing was another draft of a law concerning those who quit the communion of the Church:

We, William, etc., ordain as follows:

1 Every person intending to quit, with civil consequences, the communion of the Church to which he has hitherto belonged, must make a declaration of such intention personally before the justice of the peace of the district in which he resides. The same steps must be taken by all persons intending to quit the Church, so as to be relieved of the charges to which they may be liable in respect of such Church.

2. The document requiring, by virtue of this law, the intervention of a judge, shall be made and signed within the radius of jurisdiction of the court of appeal of Cologne by any justice of the peace and in that of the former free City of Frankfort on the Main by the second subdivision of the tribunal of the city.

3. The justice of the peace shall draw up a written declaration of the facts of the party's quitting the church and shall furnish a copy thereof if required A copy of the said declaration shall be forwarded to the ecclesiastical authority of the parish to which the person making the same shall belong.

4. The said declaration shall abolish the status as parishioner of the person making it; and shall relieve him from all liability to any payment of dues or assessed rites whatsoever towards the parish and towards the rector or incumbent thereof. But liability shall continue in force in respect of those dues or assessed rates which do not depend on connection with a parish which are obligatory in virtue of the ownership of landed property which may have belonged to churches now extinct or to parishes specified in the title deeds of such property.

5. In case said declaration of quitting the church shall have been during the first half of the current year, the liabilities specified in the first part of paragraph 4 ,shall remain in force until the end of the year. And in case the said declaration shall have been made during the second half year then the said liabilities shall continue in force until the 30th of June of the year following.

6. All persons who shall have made declaration— conformably to the laws in force up to this day—of their intention to quit the church previous to the enactment of this present law, cannot be subjected to any process of law for the recovery of any dues or assessed rates other than those specified in the second part of paragraph iv.

7. No demand for the payment of ecclesiastical church fees shall be made upon persons not belonging to any church, save and except in such cases as when a special request for the performance of ecclesiastical functions in their own behalf shall have been made by such persons.

The fee for drawing up and signing the declaration herein-before required of quitting the church shall be the sum of five silbergroschen. The document requires a stamp the cost of which shall also be paid by the person requiring it. All other action on the part of justices of the peace in respect of the execution of the present law and all other information given shall be free of all charge.

8. The regulations specified in paragraphs i to viii concerning the quitting of the church shall also be applicable to the act of quitting the communion of every religious body in the enjoyment of corporate rights.

9. The liabilities incumbent in virtue of the law of July 23, 1847, paragraph 3, upon Jews who are in possession of landed property charged with the maintenance of religious systems being Christian, are by this present law maintained in force only so far as charges specified in paragraph 4 of this present law, as concerning persons quitting the church.

10. All judgments or enactments made previously to the passing of this present law are hereby repealed in so far as they may be contrary thereto.

Given under our sign manual and royal seal:

(Countersigned)

Leonhardt Falk.

We, William, etc., with the approbation of both houses of the Lantag, decree for the whole extent of the monarchy as follows:

SECTION 1. In a Catholic bishopric which has become vacant the rights and ecclesiastical functions connected with the episcopal office, each and all, as far as they do not concern the administration of property shall only be be exercised according to the following regulations of this law, until a bishop recognized by the state has been appointed.

SECTION II. Whoever wishes to exercise such episcopal rights or functions as mentioned in section i. must make a written communication thereof to the president of the province in which is situated the vacant see, and he must send in the ecclesiastical order of his appointment, with the statement of the extent of the rights to be exercised, and he must prove himself possessed of the personal qualities on which, according to the law of May 11, 1873 (Law Code, 1873, page 191) the collation of an ecclesiastical office depends. At the same time he must declare his readiness to bind himself by oath to be faithful and obedient to the king, and to obey the laws of the state.

SECTION III. Within ten days after the receipt of the communication, the president can protest against the claimed exercise of episcopal rights or functions as mentioned in section i. The prescriptions of section xvi. of the law of May 11, 1873 (Law code, p. 191) according to which the appeal to the Court of Ecclesiastical Affairs is admissible can be applied with a view to entering a protest within ten days only. If no protest has been made, or if the protest has been rejected by the Court of Ecclesiastical Affairs, the engagement by oath as has been prescribed in section ii. is to be entered into in presence of the president or of some commissary appointed by him.

SECTION IV. Whoever exercises episcopal rights or functions as mentioned in section i. before has taken his engagement upon oath, is punished with imprisonment of from six months to two years. The same punishment befalls the personal representative or deputy of a bishop (vicar-general official), who, after the episcopal see has become vacant, continues to exercise episcopal rights or functions without having received permission to exercise them according to sections ii. and iii. Actions thus taken are void of legal effect.

SECTION V. Ecclesiastical functionaries who exercise official actions by the direction or by order of a bishop who has not been recognized by the state or who in consequence of a judicial sentence has been deposed from his office, or of a person who, contrary to the prescriptions of this law, exercises episcopal rights or functions or of a deputy appointed by those persons, are punished by a fine not exceeding 100 thalers or with confinement or imprisonment not exceeding a year, and if by such a commission episcopal rights or functions have been exercised, they are punished with imprisonment from six months to two years.

SECTION VI. If the see of a bishop has become vacant by judicial sentence, the president must call upon the chapter to elect immediately a vicar of the bishopric. If the president is not informed within ten days of the election having taken place, or if within fourteen days further he who has been elected does not take his engagement upon oath, the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs appoints some commissary who takes under his care and administration the movable and immovable goods which belong to the episcopal see and to the administration thereof and of the bishop for the time being. The president can take coercive measures which are required to put the property at the disposition of the commissary. He is authorized, even before the nomination of a commissary, the moment of issuing his order to the chapter, to take the property as above-mentioned, under his custody, and, if necessary, to take the coercive measures that may be required for this purpose.

SECTION VII. The regulations of section vi. may be applied likewise; 1st, If in the case of the see of a bishop having become vacant by judicial sentence, the administrator of the bishopric withdraws from his office without

the installment of a new bishop recognized by the state having taken place; and, 2d, If in other cases of vacancy of an episcopal see, episcopal rights or functions are exercised by persons who have not the qualifications required by sections ii. and iii.

SECTION VII. The regulations of section vi. concerning both the appointment of a commissary for the administration of the property as therein mentioned, and the sequestration of this property applies moreover to all cases, if a vacant episcopal see is not filled within a year of the vacancy by a bishop recognized by the state. The Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs is authorized to prolong the term.

SECTION IX. The rights of administration of the bishop pass over to the commissary. The expenses of the administration are taken beforehand out of the property. The commissary represents the episcopal see, or the bishop as such in all property matters. He directs the chief administration and superintendence of the church property in the diocese which else falls upon the bishop, inclusive of the property of the parish, curacies, chaplaincies, foundations, etc., of all sorts. The commissary is empowered by his letter of appointment, provided with seal and signature even in the cases in which the laws require a special power, or a judicial, notarial or otherwise authorized power.

SECTION X. The administration of the commissary ends as soon as a vicar, who has been appointed duly in accordance with the regulations of the law, takes in his hands the administration of the bishopric, or as soon as the installment of a bishop, who has been recognized by the state, has taken place. The commissary is accountable for his administration to the appointed authority only, and the account he has to give is under the revisal of the Royal Chamber of Accounts according to the regulations of

tion x., number ii., of the law of March 27, 1872 (Law code, 1872, p. 278). No other answering or rendering of accounts takes place.

SECTION XI.—The president gives public notice in the Staatzanzeiger and in all official and district gazettes of the appointment of a vicar of the bishopric made according to the regulation of this law, and of the appointment of a commissary, with the date on which they have begun to perform their official duties and on which they have ceased to do so.

SECTION XII.—The application of section vi–xi is not excluded by the fact that the chapter appoints a special administrator of the property or takes its administration in its own hands, or because a special episcopal authority exists for that purpose for the time of the vacancy of the bishopric.

SECTION XIII.—If in the cases of sections vi–vii the election of an administrator of the bishopric does not take place within the appointed time, or if within seventeen days after the elect does not take his oath, the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs withdraws the means given by the state for the support of members of the chapter that have a right of electing, until an administrator of the bishopric has been duly appointed according to the regulations of this law or until a new bishop recognized by the state has been installed. The Minister, however, may allow individual members of the chapter to be paid their salary.

SECTION XIV.—During the time of a commissorial administration in the case of sections vi–vii, he also who by patronage or by some other legal title with regard to a vacant ecclesiastical office has the right of presentation, nomination, or proposal, is authorized to fill the office in case of a vacancy and to procure a substitute for it.

SECTION XV.—If the entitled person make use of his privi-

lege, the regulations of this law of May 11th, 1873 (Law Code, p. 191,) come into force. The punishment of section xxii, clause 1, with which the ecclesiastical superior is threatened in case of some office being conferred contrary to the laws, befalls in a similar case the entitled person.

SECTION XVI.—If the entitled person does not procure a substitute within two months from the day of the vacancy of the ecclesiastical office, and if the vacancy should begin before this present law comes into force from the day of its coming into force or if he does not fill the place within a year of the vacancy, his privilege is transferred to the parish (curacy, chapel, etc.). The parish has the rights mentioned in section xiv. in all cases where there is no one who has the right of presentation.

SECTION XVII.—If the conditions of section xvi. occur, the Landrath at the proposal of at least ten male members of the parish, who are of age and in the possession of their civil rights, and who are not dependent upon householders in possession of a vote, calls upon all such members of the parish to determine upon the appointment of a substitute or upon refilling of the post.

For the validity of these resolutions it is necessary that a majority of those present should vote for the resolution. The president settles the details of the manner of proceeding.

SECTION XVIII.—In case a legal election takes place, a representative must be chosen according to section xvii., who has to hand over the office to the chosen ecclesiastic. As to the conduct and responsibility of the representative, the regulations of section xv. are in force.

SECTION XIX.—If in the cases of sections xiv-xviii no protest is entered by the president, or if the entered protest be rejected by the tribunal for ecclesiastical matters, the ecclesiastic is to be considered as legally appointed.

SECTION XX.—In case before the day on which this law

is published the see of a bishop become vacant in consequence of a judicial sentence, the regulations of this law are likewise applicable, yet, still with the proviso that the president issues his orders to the chapter, in accordance with section vi. immediately after the publication.

SECTION XXI.—Wherever there is question in the law of a bishop, or of an episcopal see, office, etc., or of a bishopric, an archbishopric, a prince-bishop, as well as their sees, offices, bishopric, etc., are to be understood.

Under the rights and ecclesiastical functions connected with the episcopal office are to be understood, in the sense of this law, as well the rights and functions contained in the episcopal office as such as those which depend upon delegation.

SECTION XXII.—The Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs is commissioned to carry out this law.

In witness whereof, etc..

I intended, as stated in the preface, to publish in the appendix the apologies of the early writers. Fearing, however, that their addition would render the work too large, I resolved upon omitting them. But finding now, in consequence of the fine quality of the paper on which the book is printed, that I can conveniently attach two of the defenses to the second volume, I accordingly do so. Although I translated these myself, I prefer giving the rendering published by Clark in 1868. AUTHOR.

THE FIRST APOLOGY OF JUSTIN.

CHAPTER I.

ADDRESS—JUSTICE DEMANDED.

To the Emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, and to his son Verissimus, the philosopher, and to Lucius, the philosopher, the natural son of Cæsar, and the adopted son of Pius, a lover of learning, and to the sacred senate, with the whole people of the Romans, I, Justin, the son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, natives of Flavia Neapolis in Palestine, present this address and petition in behalf of those of all nations who are unjustly hated and wantonly abused, myself being one of them.

Reason directs those who are truly pious and philosophical to honor and love only what is true, declining to follow traditional opinions,* if these be worthless. For not only does sound reason direct us to refuse the guidance of those who did or taught anything wrong, but it is incumbent on the lover of truth, by all means, and if death be threatened, even before his own life to choose to do and say what is right. Do you, then, since you are called pious and philosophers, guardians and lovers of learning, give good heed, and hearken to my address; and if ye are, indeed, such, it will be manifested. For we have come, not to flatter you by this writing, nor please you by our address, but to beg that you pass judgment, after an accurate and

* Literally, "the opinions of the ancients."

searching investigation, not flattered by prejudice or by a desire of pleasing superstitious men, or induced by irrational impulse or evil rumors which have long been prevalent, to give a decision which will prove to be against yourselves. For as for us, we reckon that no evil can be done us, unless we be convicted as evil-doers, or be proved to be wicked men; and you, you can kill, but not hurt us.

CHAPTER II.

CLAIM OF JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION.

But lest any one think that this is an unreasonable and reckless utterance, we demand that the charges against the Christians be investigated, and that, if these be substantiated, they be punished as they deserve; [or rather, indeed, we ourselves will punish them].* But if no one can convict us of anything, true reason forbids you, for the sake of a wicked rumor, to wrong blameless men, and, indeed, rather yourselves, who think fit to direct affairs, not by judgment, but by passion. And every sober-minded person will declare this to be the only fair and equitable adjustment, namely, that the subjects render an unexceptionable account of their own life and doctrine; and that, on the other hand, the rulers should give their decision in obedience, not to violence and tyranny, but to piety and philosophy. For thus would both rulers and ruled reap benefit. For even one of the ancients somewhere said, "Unless both rulers and ruled philosophize, it is impossible to make states blessed."† It is our task, therefore, to afford all an opportunity of inspecting our life and teachings, lest, on account of those who are accustomed to be ignorant of our affairs, we should incur the

* Thirlby regarded the clause in brackets as an interpolation. There is considerable variety of opinion as to the exact meaning of the words amongst those who regard them as genuine.

† Plat. *Rep.* v. 18.

penalty due to them for mental blindness;* and it is your business, when you hear us, to be found, as reason demands, good judges. For if, when you have learnt the truth, you do not what is just, you will be before God without excuse.

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIANS UNJUSTLY CONDEMNED FOR THEIR MERE NAME.

By the mere application of a name, nothing is decided, either good or evil, apart from the actions implied in the name; and indeed, so far at least as one may judge from the name we are accused of, we are most excellent people. But as we do not think it just to beg to be acquitted on account of the name, if we be convicted as evil-doers, so, on the other hand, if we be found to have committed no offense, either in the matter of thus naming ourselves, or of our conduct as citizens, it is your part very earnestly to guard against incurring just punishment, by unjustly punishing those who are not convicted. For from a name neither praise nor punishment could reasonably spring, unless something excellent or base in action be proved. And those among yourselves who are accused, you do not punish before they are convicted; but in our case you receive the name as proof against us, and this although, so far as the name goes, you ought rather to punish our accusers. For we are accused of being Christians, and to hate what is *excellent* (Chrestian) is unjust. Again, if any of the accused deny the name, and say that he is not a Christian, you acquit him, as having no evidence against him as a wrong-doer; but if any one acknowledge that he is a Christian you punish him on account of this acknowledgment. Justice requires that you inquire into the life both of him who confesses and of him who denies, that by his deeds

* That is to say, if the Christians refused or neglected to make their real opinions and practices known, they would share the guilt of those whom they thus kept in darkness.

it may be apparent what kind of man each is. For as some who have been taught by the Master, Christ, not to deny Him, give encouragement to others when they are put to the question, so in all probability do those who lead wicked lives give occasion to those who, without consideration, take upon them to accuse all the Christians of impiety and wickedness. And this also is not right. For of philosophy too, some assume the name and the garb who do nothing worthy of their profession; and you are well aware, that those of the ancients whose opinions and teachings were quite diverse, are yet all called by the one name of philosophers. And of these some taught atheism; and the poets who have flourished among you raise a laugh out o the uncleanness of Jupiter with his own childr n. And those who now adopt such instruction are not restrained by you; but on the contrary, you bestow prizes and honors upon those who euphoniously insult the gods.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIANS CHARGED WITH ATHEISM.

Why, then, should this be? In our case, who pledge ourselves to do no wickedness, nor to hold these atheistic opinions, you do not examine the charges made against us but, yielding to unreasoning passion, and to the instigation of evil demons, you punish us without consideration or judgment. For the truth shall be spoken; since of old these evil demons, effecting apparitions of themselves, both defiled women and corrupted boys, and showed such fearful sights to men, that those who did not use their reason in judging of the actions that were done, were struck with terror; and being carried away by fear, and not knowing that these were demons, they called them gods and gave to each the name which each of the demons chose for himself. And when Socrates endeavored by true reason and examination, to

bring these things to light, and deliver men from the demons, then the demons themselves, by means of men who rejoiced in iniquity, compassed his death as an atheist and a profane person, on the charge that "he was introducing new divinities;" and in our case they display a similar activity. For not only among the Greeks did reason (Logos) prevail to condemn these things through Socrates, but also among the barbarians were they condemned by Reason (or the Word, the Logos) Himself, who took shape, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ, and in obedience to Him, we not only deny that they who did such things as these are gods, but assert that they are wicked and impious demons, whose actions will not bear comparison with those even of men desirous of virtue.

CHAPTER V.

CHARGE OF ATHEISM REFUTED—EACH CHRISTIAN MUST BE TRIED BY HIS OWN LIFE—CHRISTIANS CONFESS THEIR FAITH IN GOD.

Hence are we called atheists. And we confess that we are atheists, so far as gods of this sort are concerned, but not with respect to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and the other virtues, who is free from all impurity. But both Him, and the Son who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels who follow and are made like to Him,* and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, knowing

* This is the literal and obvious translation of Justin's words. But from c. 13. 16, and 61, it is evident that he did not desire to inculcate the worship of angels, We are therefore driven to adopt another translation of this passage eveu though it be somewhat harsh. Two such translations have been proposed: the first connecting "us" and "the host of the other good angels" as the common object of the verb "taught"; the second connecting "these things" with "the host of," etc., and making these two together the subject taught. In the first case the translation would stand, "taught these things to us and to the host," etc.; iu the second case the translation would be, "taught us about these things, and about the host of the others who follow Him, viz., the good angels."

them in reason and truth, and declaring without grudging to every one who wishes to learn, as we have been taught.

But some one will say, Some have ere now been arrested and convicted as evil-doers. For you condemn many, many a time, after inquiring into the life of each of the accused severally, but not on account of those of whom we have been speaking.* And this we acknowledge, that as among the Greeks those who teach such theories as please themselves are all called by the one name "Philosopher," though their doctrines be diverse, so also among the Barbarians this name on which accusations are accumulated is the common property of those who are and those who seem wise. For all are called Christians. Wherefore we demand that the deeds of all those who are accused to you be judged, in order that each one who is convicted may be punished as an evil-doer, and not as a Christian; and if it is clear that any one is blameless, that he may be acquitted, since by the mere fact of his being a Christian he does no wrong.† For we will not require that you punish our accusers; they being sufficiently punished by their present wickedness and ignorance of what is right.

And reckon ye that it is for your sakes we have been saying these things; for it is in our power, when we are examined, to deny that we are Christians; but we would not live by telling a lie. For, impelled by the desire of the eternal and pure life, we seek the abode that is with God, the Father and Creator of all, and hasten to confess our faith, persuaded and convinced as we are that they who have proved to God‡ by their works that they followed Him, and loved to abide with Him where there is no sin to

* *i. e.* according to Otto, "not on account of the sincere Christians of whom we have been speaking." According to Trollope, "not on account of (or at the instigation of) the demons before mentioned."

† Or, "as a Christian who has done no wrong." ‡ Literally, "persuaded God."

cause disturbance, can obtain these things. This, then, to speak shortly, is what we expect and have learned from Christ, and teach. And Plato, in like manner, used to say that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked who came before them; and we say that the same thing will be done, but at the hand of Christ, and upon the wicked in the same bodies united again to their spirits which are now to undergo everlasting punishment; and not only, as Plato said, for a period of a thousand years. And if any one say that this is incredible or impossible, this error of ours is one which concerns ourselves only, and no other person, so long as you cannot convict us of doing any harm.

CHAPTER VI.

FOLLY OF IDOL WORSHIP—HOW GOD IS TO BE SERVED.

And neither do we honor with many sacrifices and garlands of flowers such deities as men have formed and set in shrines and called gods; since we see that these are soulless and dead, and have not the form of God (for we do not consider that God has such a form as some say that they imitate to His honor), but have the names and forms of those wicked demons which have appeared. For why need we tell you who already know, into what forms of craftsmen, carving and cutting, casting and hammering, fashion the materials? And often out of vessels of dishonor, by merely changing the form, and making an image of the requisite shape, they make what they call a god; which we consider not only senseless, but to be even insulting to God, who, having ineffable glory and form, thus gets His name attached to things that are corruptible, and require constant service. And that the artificers of these are both intemperate, and, not to enter into particulars, are practised in every vice, you very well know; even their own girls who work along with

them they corrupt. What infatuation! that dissolute men should be said to fashion and make gods for your worship, and that you should appoint such men the guardians of the temples where they are enshrined; not recognizing that it is unlawful even to think or say that men are the guardians of gods.

But we have received by tradition that God does not need the material offerings which men can give, seeing, indeed, that He Himself is the provider of all things. And we have been taught, and are convinced, and do believe, that He accepts those only who imitate the excellences which reside in Him, temperance, and justice, and philanthropy, and as many virtues as are peculiar to a God who is called by no proper name. And we have been taught that He in the beginning did of His goodness, for man's sake, create all things out of unformed matter; and if men by their works show themselves worthy of this His design, they are deemed worthy, and so we have received--of reigning in company with Him, being delivered from corruption and suffering. For as in the beginning He created us when we were not, so do we consider that, in like manner, those who choose what is pleasing to Him are, on account of their choice, deemed worthy of incorruption and of fellowship with Him. For the coming into being at first was not in our own power; and in order that we may follow those things which please Him, choosing them by means of the rational faculties He has Himself endowed us with, He both persuades us and leads us to faith. And we think it for the advantage of all men that they are not restrained from learning these things, but are even urged thereto. For the restraint which human laws could not effect, the Word, inasmuch as He is divine, would have effected, had not the wicked demons, taking as their last ally the lust of wickedness which is in every man, and which draws variously to

all manner of vice, scattered many false and profane accusations, none of which attach to us.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT KINGDOM CHRISTIANS LOOK FOR—CHRISTIANS LIVE AS UNDER GOD'S EYE.

And when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you suppose, without making any inquiry, that we speak of a human kingdom; whereas we speak of that which is with God, as appears also from the confession of their faith made by those who are charged with being Christians, though they know that death is the punishment awarded to him who so confesses. For if we looked for a human kingdom, we should also deny our Christ, that we might not be slain: and we should strive to escape detection, that we might obtain what we expect. But since our thoughts are not fixed on the present, we are not concerned when men cut us off; since also death is a debt which must at all events be paid.

And more than all other men are we your helpers and allies in promoting peace, seeing that we hold this view, that it is alike impossible for the wicked, the covetous, the conspirator and for the virtuous, to escape the notice of God, and that each man goes to everlasting punishment or salvation according to the value of his actions. For if all men knew this, no one would choose wickedness even for a little, knowing that he goes to the everlasting punishment of fire; but would by all means restrain himself, and adorn himself with virtue, that he might obtain the good gifts of God and escape the punishments. For those who on account of the laws and punishments you impose, endeavor to escape detection when they offend (and they offend, too, under the impression that it is quite possible to escape your detection, since you are but men), those persons, if they learned and were convinced that nothing, whether

actually done or only intended, can escape the knowledge of God, would by all means live decently on account of the penalties threatened, as even you yourselves will admit. But you seem to fear lest all men become righteous, and you no longer have any to punish. Such would be the concern of public executioners, but not of good princes. But, as we before said, we are persuaded that these things are prompted by evil spirits, who demand sacrifices and service even from those who live unreasonably; but as for you we presume that you who aim at [a reputation for] piety and philosophy will do nothing unreasonable. But if you also, like the foolish, prefer custom to truth, do what you have power to do. But just so much power have rulers who esteem opinion more than truth, as robbers have in a desert. And that you will not succeed is declared by the Word, than whom, after God who begat Him, we know there is no ruler more kingly and just. For as all shrink from succeeding to the poverty or sufferings or obscurity of their fathers, so whatever the Word forbids us to choose, the sensible man will not choose. That all these things should come to pass, I say, our Teacher foretold, He who is both Son and Apostle of God the Father of all and the Ruler, Jesus Christ; from whom also we have the name of Christians. Whence we become more assured of all the things He taught us, since whatever he beforehand foretold should come to pass, is seen in fact coming to pass, and this is the work of God to tell of a thing before it happens, and as it was foretold so to show it happening. It were possible to pause here and add no more, reckoning that we demand what is just and true; but because we are well aware that it is not easy suddenly to change a mind possessed by ignorance, we intend to add a few things, for the sake of persuading those who love the truth, knowing that it is not impossible to put ignorance to flight by presenting the truth.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIANS SERVE GOD RATIONALLY.

What sober-minded man, then, will not acknowledge that we are not atheists, worshipping as we do the Maker of this universe, and declaring, as we have been taught, that He has no need of streams of blood and libations and incense; whom we praise to the utmost of our power by the exercise of prayer and thanksgiving for all things wherewith we are supplied, as we have been taught that the only honor that is worthy of Him is not to consume by fire what He has brought into being for our sustenance, but to use it for ourselves and those who need, and with gratitude to Him to offer thanks by invocations and hymns for our creation, and for all the means of health, and for the various qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of the seasons; and to present before him petitions for our existing again in incorruption through faith in Him. Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who also was born for this purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea, in the times of Tiberius Cæsar; and that we reasonably worship Him, having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third, we will prove. For they proclaim our madness to consist in this, that we give to a crucified man a place second to the unchangeable and eternal God, the Creator of all; for they do not discern the mystery that is herein, to which as we make it plain to you, we pray you to give heed.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DEMONS MISREPRESENT CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

For we forewarn you to be on your guard, lest those demons whom we have been accusing should deceive you, and quite divert you from reading and understanding what

we say. For they strive to hold you their slaves and servants; and sometimes by appearances and dreams, and sometimes by magical impositions, they subdue all who make no strong opposing efforts for their own salvation. And thus do we also, since our persuasion by the Word, stand aloof from them (*i. e.*, the demons), and follow the only unbegotten God through His Son—we who formerly delighted in fornication, but now embrace chastity alone; we who formerly used magical arts, dedicate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions, now bring what we have into a common stock, and communicate to every one in need; we who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not live * with men of a different tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and endeavor to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the good precepts of Christ, to the end that they may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God, the ruler of all. But lest we should seem to be reasoning sophistically, we consider it right, before giving you the promised† explanation, to cite a few precepts given by Christ Himself. And be it yours, as powerful rulers, to inquire whether we have been taught and to teach these things truly. Brief and concise utterance fell from Him, for He was no sophist, but His word was the power of God.

CHAPTER X.

WHAT CHRIST HIMSELF TAUGHT.

Concerning chastity he uttered such sentiments as these:† "Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath

* Literally, "would not use the same hearth or fire." * See the end of chap xiii.

† The reader will notice that Justin quotes from memory, so that there are some slight discrepancies between the words of Jesus as here cited, and the same sayings as recorded in our Gospels.

committed adultery with her already in his heart before God." And, "If thy right eye offend thee, cut it out; for it is better for thee to enter the kingdom of heaven with one eye, than, having two eyes, to be cast into everlasting fire." And, "Whosoever shall marry her that is divorced from another husband, committeth adultery."* And, "There are some who have been made eunuchs of men, and some who were born eunuchs, and some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake; but all cannot receive this saying."† So that all who, by human law, are twice married, are in the eye of our Master sinners, and those who look upon a woman to lust after her. For not only he who in act commits adultery is rejected by Him, but also he who desires to commit adultery; since not only our works, but also our thoughts, are open before God. And many, both men and women, who have been Christ's disciples from childhood, remain at the age of sixty or seventy years; and I boast that I could produce such from every race of men. For what shall I say, too, of the countless multitude of those who have reformed intemperate habits, and learned these things? For Christ called not the just nor the chaste to repentance, but the ungodly, and the licentious, and the unjust; His words being: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."‡ For the heavenly Father desires rather the repentance than the punishment of the sinner. And of our love to all, He taught thus: "If you love them that love you, what new thing do ye? for even fornicators do this. But I say unto you pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you."§ And that we should communicate to the needy, and do nothing for glory, He said, "Give to him that asketh, and

* Matt. v. 28, 29, 32.
† Matt., xix., 12.
‡ Matt., ix., 13.
§ Matt., v., 46-44; Luke, vi., 28.

from him that would borrow turn not away ; for if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what new thing do ye? even the publicans do this. Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where robbers break through ; but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust, doth corrupt. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for it? Lay up treasure, therefore, in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt."* And, " Be ye kind and merciful, as your Father also is kind and merciful, and maketh His sun to rise on sinners, and the righteous, and the wicked. Take no thought what ye shall eat,or what ye shall put on : are ye not better than the birds and the beasts? And God feedeth them. Take no thought, therefore, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you. For where his treasure is, there also is the mind of a man."† And, " Do not these things to be seen of men ; otherwise ye have no reward from your Father which is in heaven."‡

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING PATIENCE AND SWEARING.

And concerning our being patient of injuries, and ready to serve all, and free from anger, this is what He said: " To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other ; and him that taketh away thy cloak or coat, forbid not. And whosoever shall be angry, is in danger of the fire. And every one that compelleth thee to go with him a mile, follow him two. And let your good works shine before men,

* Luke, vi., 30, 34 ; Matt, vi., 19, xvi., 26, vi., 20.

† Luke, vi, 36 ; Matt., v., 45, vi., 25, 26, 33, 21.

‡ Matt., vi., 1,

that they, seeing them, may glorify your Father which is in heaven." * For we ought not to strive; neither has He desired us to be imitators of wicked men, but He has exhorted us to lead all men, by patience and gentleness, from shame and the love of evil. And this indeed is proved in the case of many who once were of your way of thinking, but have changed their violent and tyrannical disposition, being overcome either by the constancy which they have witnessed in their neighbors' lives,† or by the extraordinary forbearance they have observed in their fellow-travellers when defrauded, or by the honesty of those with whom they have transacted business.

And with regard to our not swearing at all, and always speaking the truth, He enjoined as follows: "Swear not at all; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." ‡ And that we ought to worship God alone, He thus persuaded us: "The greatest commandment is, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, the Lord God that made thee."§ And when a certain man came to Him and said, "Good Master," He answered and said, "There is none good but God only, who made all things." ‖ And let those who are not found living as He taught, be understood to be no Christians, even though they profess with the lip the precepts of Christ; for not those who make profession, but those who do the works, shall be saved, according to His word: "Not every one who saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. For whosoever heareth me, and doeth my sayings, heareth Him that sent me. And many will say unto me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in Thy name, and

* Luke vi. 29; Matt. vi. 22, 41, 16. † *i. e.*, Christian neighbors.
‡ Matt. v. 34, 37. § Mark xii, 30. ‖ Matt. xix. 6, 17.

done wonders? And then will I say unto them, Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity. Then shall there be wailing and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shall shine as the sun, and the wicked are sent into everlasting fire. For many shall come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but inwardly being ravening wolves. By their works you shall know them. And every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."* And as to those who are not living pursuant to these His teachings, and are Christians only in name, we demand that all such be punished by you.

CHAPTER XII.

CHRIST TAUGHT CIVIL OBEDIENCE—PROOF OF IMMORTALITY AND THE RESURRECTION.

And every-where we, more readily than all men, endeavor to pay to those appointed by you the taxes both ordinary and extraordinary, as we have been taught by Him; for at that time some came to Him and asked Him, if one ought to pay tribute to Cæsar; and He answered, "Tell me, whose image does this coin bear?" And they said, "Cæsar's;" And again He answered them, "Render therefore to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."† Whence to God alone we render worship, but in other things we gladly serve you, acknowledging you as kings and rulers of men, and praying that with your kingly power you be found to possess also sound judgment. But if you pay no regard to our prayers and frank explanations, we shall suffer no loss, since we believe (or rather, indeed, are persuaded) that every man will suffer punishment in eternal fire according to the merit of his deed, and will render account according to the power he has received from

* Matt. vii. 21, etc.; Luke xiii. 26; Matt. xiii. 42, vii. 15, 16, 19.

† Matt. xxii. 17, 19, 20, 21.

God, as Christ intimated when He said, "To whom God has given more, of him shall more be required."*

For reflect upon the end of each of the preceding kings, how they died the death common to all, which, if it issued in insensibility, would be a god-send to all the wicked. But since sensation remains to all who have ever lived, and eternal punishment is laid up (*i. e.* for the wicked), see that ye neglect not to be convinced, and to hold as your belief, that these things are true. For let even necromancy, and the divinations you practise by immaculate children,† and the evoking of departed human souls,‡ and those who are called among the magi, Dream-senders and Assistant-spirits (Familiars), and all that is done by those who are skilled in such matters—let these persuade you that even after death souls are in a state of sensation; and those who are seized and cast about by the spirits of the dead, whom all call dæmoniacs or madmen: § and what you repute as oracles, both of Amphilochus, Dodona, Pytho, and as many other such as exist; and the opinions of your authors, Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates, and the pit of Homer,‖ and the descent of Ulysses to inspect these things, and all that has been uttered of a like kind. Such favor as you grant to these, grant also to us, who not less but more firmly than

* Luke xii. 48.

† Boys and girls, or even children, prematurely taken from the womb, were slaughtered, and their entrails inspected, in the belief that the souls of the victims (being still conscious, as Justin is arguing) would reveal things hidden and future. Instances are abundantly cited by Otto and Trollope.

‡ This form of spirit-rapping was familiar to the ancients, and Justin again (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 105,) uses the invocation of Samuel by the witch of Endor as a proof of the immortality of the soul.

§ Justin is not the only author in ancient or recent times who has classed dæmoniacs and maniacs together; neither does he stand alone among the ancients in the opinion that dæmoniacs were possessed by the spirits of departed men.

‖ See the *Odyssey*, Book xi. line 25, where Ulysses is described as digging a pit or trench with his sword, and pouring libations, in order to collect around him the souls of the dead.

they believe in God ; since we expect to receive again our own bodies, though they be dead and cast into the earth, for we maintain that with God nothing is impossible.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RESURRECTION POSSIBLE.

And to any thoughtful person would anything appear more incredible, than, if we were not in the body, and some one were to say that it was possible that from a small drop of human seed bones and sinews and flesh be formed into a shape such as we see? For let this now be said hypothetically ; if you yourselves were not such as you now are, and born of such parents [and causes], and one were to shew you human seed and a picture of a man, and were to say with confidence, that from such a substance such a being could be produced, would you believe before you saw the actual production? No one will dare to deny [that such a statement would surpass belief]. In the same way, then, you are now incredulous because you have never seen a dead man rise again. But as at first you would not have believed it possible that such persons could be produced from the small drop, and yet now you see them thus produced, so also judge ye that it is not impossible that the bodies of men, after they have been dissolved, and like seeds resolved into earth, should in God's appointed time rise again and put on incorruption. For what power worthy of God those imagine who say, that each thing returns to that from which it was produced, and that beyond this not even God Himself can do anything, we are unable to conceive ; but this we see clearly, that they would not have believed it possible that they could have become such and produced from such materials, as they now see both themselves and the whole world to be. And that it is better to believe

even what is impossible to our own nature and to men, than to be unbelieving like the rest of the world, we have learned; for we know that our Master Jesus Christ said, that "what is impossible with men is possible with God,"* and, "Fear not them that kill you, and after that can do no more; but fear Him who after death is able to cast both soul and body into hell."† And hell is a place where those are to be punished who have lived wickedly and who do not believe that those things which God has taught us by Christ will come to pass.

CHAPTER XIV.

HEATHEN ANALOGIES TO CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

And the Sibyl‡ and Hystaspes said that there should be a dissolution by God of things corruptible. And the philosophers called Stoics teach that even God Himself shall be resolved into fire, and they say that the world is to be formed anew by this revolution; but we understand that God, the Creator of all things, is superior to the things that are to be changed. If, therefore, on some points we teach the same things as the poets and philosophers whom you honor, and on other points are fuller and more divine in our teaching, and if we alone afford proof of what we assert, why are we unjustly hated more than all others? For while we say that all things have been produced and arranged into a world by God, we shall seem to utter the doctrine of Plato; and while we say that there will be a burning up of all, we

* Matt., xix., 26. † Matt., x., 28.

‡ The Sibylline Oracles are now generally regarded as heathen fragments largely interpolated by unscrupulous men during the early ages of the Church. For an interesting account of these somewhat perplexing documents, see *Burton's Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the first Three Centuries*, Lect. xvii. The prophecies of Hystaspes were also commonly appealed to as genuine by the early Christians.

shall seem to utter the doctrine of the Stoics; and while we affirm that the souls of the wicked, being endowed with sensation even after death, are punished, and that those of the good being delivered from punishment spend a blessed existence, we shall seem to say the same things as the poets and philosophers; and while we maintain that men ought not to worship the works of their hands, we say the very things which have been said by the comic poet Menander, and other similar writers, for they have declared that the workman is greater than the work.

CHAPTER XV.

ANALOGIES TO THE HISTORY OF CHRIST.

And when we say, also, that the Word, who is the first-birth* of God, was produced without sexual union and that He, Jesus Christ, our teacher, was crucified and died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, we propound nothing different from what you believe regarding those whom you esteem sons of Jupiter. For you know how many sons your esteemed writers ascribe to Jupiter: Mercury, the interpreting word and teacher of all: Æsculapius, who, though he was a great physician, was struck by a thunderbolt, and so ascended to heaven; and Bacchus, too, after he had been torn limb from limb; and Hercules, when he had committed himself to the flames to escape his toils; and the sons of Leda, the Dioscuri; and Perseus, son of Danae; and Bellerophon, who, though sprung from mortals, rose to heaven on the horse Pegasus. For what shall I say of Ariadne, and those who, like her, have been declared to be set among the stars? And what of the emperors who die among yourselves, whom you deem worthy of deification, and in whose behalf you produce some one who swears he has seen the burning Cæsar

* *i. e.*, first-born.

rise to heaven from the funeral pyre? And what kind of deeds are recorded of each of these reputed sons of Jupiter, it is needless to tell to those who already know. This only shall be said, that they are written for the advantage and encouragement of youthful scholars; for all reckon it an honorable thing to imitate the gods. But far be such a thought concerning the gods from every well-conditioned soul, as to believe that Jupiter himself, the governor and creator of all things, was both a parricide and the son of a parricide, and that being overcome by the love of base and shameful pleasures, he came into Ganymede, and those many women whom he violated, and that his sons did like actions. But, as we said above, wicked devils perpetrated these things. And we have learned that those only are deified who have lived near to God in holiness and virtue; and we believe that those who live wickedly and do not repent are punished in everlasting fire.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANALOGIES TO THE SONSHIP OF CHRIST—THE ARGUMENT.

Moreover, the Son of God called Jesus, even if only a man by ordinary generation, yet, on account of His wisdom, is worthy to be called the Son of God; for all writers call God the Father of men and gods. And if we assert that the Word of God was born of God in a peculiar manner, different from ordinary generation, let this, as said above, be no extrordinary thing to you, who say that Mercury is the angelic word of God. But if any one objects that He was crucified, in this also he is on a par with those reputed sons of Jupiter of yours, who suffered as we have now enumerated. For their sufferings at death are recorded to have been not all alike, but diverse; so that not even by the peculiarity of His suffering does He seem to be inferior to them; but, on the contrary as we promised in the

preceding part of this discourse, we will now prove Him superior—or rather have already proved him to be so—for the superior is revealed by His actions. And if we even affirm that He was born of a virgin, accept this in common with what you accept of Perseus. And in that we say that He made whole the lame, the paralytic, and those born blind, we seem to say what is very similar to the deeds said to have been done by Æsculapius.

And that this may now become evident to you—(firstly*) that whatever we assert in conformity with what has been taught us by Christ, and by the prophets who preceded Him, are alone true, and are older than all the writers who have existed; that we claim to be acknowledged, not because we say the same things as these writers said, but because we say true things: and (secondly) that Jesus Christ is the only proper Son who has been begotten by God, being His Word and first-begotten, and power; and, becoming man according to His will, He taught us these things for the conversion and restoration of the human race; and (thirdly) that before He became a man among men, some, influenced by the demons before mentioned, related beforehand, through the instrumentality of the poets, those circumstances as having really happened, which, having fictitiously devised, they narrated, in the same manner as they have caused to be fabricated the scandalous reports against us of infamous and impious actions,† of

*The Benedictine editor, Maranus, Otto, and Trollope, here note that Justin in this chapter promises to make good three distinct positions: 1*st*, That Christian doctrines alone are true, and are to be received, not on account of their resemblance to the sentiments of poets or philosophers, but on their own account; 2*d*, that Jesus Christ is the incarnate Son of God, and our teacher; 3*d*, that before His incarnation, the demons, having some knowledge of what He would accomplish, enabled the heathen poets and priests in some points to anticipate, though in a distorted form, the facts of the incarnation. The first he establishes in chap. xxiv.-xxix.; the second in chap. xxx.-liii.; and the third in chap. liv. et sq.

† We have here followed the reading and rendering of Trollope.

which there is neither witness nor proof—we shall bring forward the following proof.

CHAPTER XVII.

VARIETIES OF HEATHEN WORSHIP—FALSE GODS ABANDONED BY CHRISTIANS.

In the first place [we furnish proof], because, though we say things similar to what the Greeks say, we only are hated on account of the name of Christ, and though we do no wrong, are put to death as sinners; other men in other places worshipping trees and rivers, and mice and cats and crocodiles, and many irrational animals. Nor are the same animals esteemed by all; but in one place one is worshipped, and another in another, so that all are profane in the judgment of one another, on account of their not worshipping the same objects. And this is the sole accusation you bring against us, that we do not reverence the same gods as you do, nor offer to the dead libations and the savour of fat, and crowns for their statues, and sacrifices. For you very well know that the same animals are with some esteemed gods, with others wild beasts, and with others sacrificial victims.

And, secondly, because we—who, out of every race of men, used to worship Bacchus the son of Semele, and Apollo the son of Latona (who in their loves with men did such things as it is shameful even to mention), and Proserpine and Venus (who were maddened with love of Adonis, and whose mysteries also you celebrate), or Æsculapius, or some one or other of those who are called gods—have now, through Jesus Christ, learned to despise these, though we be threatened with death for it, and have dedicated ourselves to the unbegotten and impassible God; of whom we are persuaded that never was He goaded by lust of Antiope, or other such women, or of Ganymede, nor was rescued by that hundred-

handed giant, whose aid was obtained through Thetis, nor was anxious on this account * that her son Achilles should destroy many of the Greeks because of his concubine Briseis. Those who believe these things we pity, and those who invented them we know to be devils.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MAGICIANS NOT TRUSTED BY CHRISTIANS.

And, thirdly, because after Christ's ascension into heaven the devils put forward certain men who said that they themselves were gods; and they were not only not persecuted by you, but even deemed worthy of honors. There was a Samaritan, Simon, a native of the village called Gitto, who in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and in your royal city of Rome, did mighty acts of magic, by virtue of the art of the devils operating in him. He was considered a god, and as a god was honored by you with a statue, which statue was erected on the river Tiber, between the two bridges, and bore this inscription, in the language of Rome:

"Simoni Deo Sancto," †
"To Simon the holy God."

And almost all the Samaritans, and a few even of other nations, worship him, and acknowledge him as the first god; and a woman, Helena, who went about with him at that

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* *i. e.* on account of the assistance gained for him by Thetis, and in return for it.

† It is very generally supposed that Justin was mistaken in understanding this to have been a statue erected to Simon Magus. This supposition rests on the fact that in the year 1574 there was dug up in the island of the Tiber a fragment of marble, with the inscription "Semoni Sanco Deo," etc., being probably the base of a statue erected to the Sabine deity Semo Sancus. This inscription Justin is supposed to have mistaken for the one he gives above. This has always seemed to us very slight evidence on which to reject so precise a statement as Justin here makes; a statement which he would scarcely have hazarded in an apology addressed to Rome, where every person had the means of ascertaining its accuracy. If, as is supposed, he made a mistake, it must have been at once exposed, and other writers would not have so frequently repeated the story as they have done. See *Burton's Bampton Lectures*, p. 374.

time, and had formerly been a prostitute, they say, is the first idea generated by him. And a man, Menander, also a Samaritan, of the town Capparetæa, a disciple of Simon, and inspired by devils, we know to have deceived many while he was in Antioch by his magical art. He persuaded those who adhered to him that they should never die, and even now there are some living who hold this opinion of his. And there is Marcion, a man of Pontus, who is even at this day alive, and teaching his disciples to believe in some other god greater than the Creator. And he, by the aid of the devils, has caused many of every nation to speak blasphemies, and to deny that God is the maker of this universe, and to assert that some other, being greater than He, has done greater works. All who take their opinions from these men, are, as we before said,* called Christians: just as also those who do not agree with the philosophers in their doctrines, have yet in common with them the name of philosophers given to them. And whether they perpetrate those fabulous and shameful deeds†—the upsetting of the lamp, and promiscuous intercourse, and eating human flesh—we know not; but we do know that they are neither persecuted nor put to death by you, at least on account of their opinions. But I have a treatise against all the heresies that have existed already composed, which, if you wish to read it, I will give you.

CHAPTER XIX.

GUILT OF EXPOSING CHILDREN.

But as for us, we have been taught that to expose newly-born children is the part of wicked men; and this we have been taught lest we should do any one an injury, and lest we should sin against God, first, because we see that almost all so exposed (not only the girls, but also the males) are

* See chap. vii. † Which were commonly charged against the Christians.

brought up to prostitution. And as the ancients are said to have reared herds of oxen, or goats, or sheep, or grazing horses, so now we see you rear children only for this shameful use; and for this pollution a multitude of females and hermaphrodites, and those who commit unmentionable iniquities, are found in every nation. And you receive the hire of these, and duty and taxes from them, whom you ought to exterminate from your realm. And any one who uses such persons, besides the godless and infamous and impure intercourse, may possibly be having intercourse with his own child, or relative, or brother. And there are some who prostitute even their own children and wives, and some are openly mutilated for the purpose of sodomy; and they refer these mysteries to the mother of the gods, and along with each of those whom you esteem gods there is painted a serpent,* a great symbol and mystery. Indeed, the things which you do openly and with applause, as if the divine light were overturned and extinguished, these you lay to our charge; which, in truth, does no harm to us who shrink from doing any such things, but only to those who do them and bear false witness against us.

CHAPTER XX.

GOD'S CARE FOR MEN.—CONTINENCE OF CHRISTIANS—WAS CHRIST NOT A MAGICIAN?

For among us the prince of the wicked spirits is called the serpent, and Satan, and the devil, as you can learn by looking into our writings. And that he would be sent into the fire with his host, and the men who follow him, and would be punished for an endless duration, Christ foretold. For the reason why God has delayed to do this, is His

* Thirlby remarks that the serpent was the symbol specially of eternity, of power, and of wisdom, and that there was scarcely any divine attribute to which the heathen did not find some likeness in this animal. See also Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, vol. ii. 146, (2d ed.).

regard for the human race. For He foreknows that some are to be saved by repentance, some even that are perhaps not yet born.* In the beginning He made the human race with the power of thought and of choosing the truth and doing right, so that all men are without excuse before God; for they have been born rational and contemplative. And if any one disbelieves that God cares for these things, he will thereby either insinuate that God does not exist, or he will assert that though He exists He delights in vice, or exists like a stone, and that neither virtue nor vice are anything, but only in the opinion of men these things are reckoned good or evil. And this is the greatest profanity and wickedness.

An again [we fear to expose children], lest some of them be not picked up, but die, and we become murderers. But whether we marry, it is only that we may bring up children; or whether we decline marriage, we live continently. And that you may understand that promiscuous intercourse is not one of our mysteries, one of our number a short time ago presented to Felix the governor of Alexandria a petition, craving that permission might be given to a surgeon to make him an eunuch. For the surgeons there said that they were forbidden to do this without the permission of the governor. And when Felix absolutely refused to sign such a permission, the youth remained single, and was satisfied with his own approving conscience, and the approval of those who thought as he did. And it is not out of place, we think, to mention here Antinous, who was alive but lately, and whom all were prompt, through fear, to worship as a god, though they knew both who he was and what was his origin.†

* Literally, "For He foreknows some about to be saved by repentance, and some not yet perhaps born."

† For a sufficient account of the infamous history here alluded to, and the extravagant grief of Hadrian, and the servilty of the people, see Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*: "Antinous."

But lest any one should meet us with the question, What should prevent that He whom we call Christ, being a man born of men, performed what we call His mighty works by magical art, and by this appeared to be the Son of God? we will now offer proof, not trusting mere assertions, but being of necessity persuaded by those who prophesied [of Him] before these things came to pass, for with our own eyes we behold things that have happened and are happening just as they were predicted; and this will, we think, appear even to you the strongest and truest evidence.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE HEBREW PROPHETS.

There were, then, among the Jews certain men who were prophets of God, through whom the prophetic Spirit published beforehand things that were to come to pass, ere ever they happened. And their prophecies, as they were spoken and when they were uttered, the kings who happened to be reigning among the Jews at the several times carefully preserved in their possession, when they had been arranged in books by the prophets themselves in their own Hebrew language. And when Ptolemy king of Egypt formed a library, and endeavoured to collect the writings of all men, he heard also of these prophets, and sent to Herod, who was at that time king of the Jews,* requesting that the books of the prophets be sent to him. And Herod the king did indeed send them, written, as they were, in the foresaid Hebrew language. And when their contents were found to be unintelligible to the Egyptians, he again sent and requested that men be commissioned to translate them into the Greek language. And when this was done, the books remained with the Egyp-

* Some attribute this blunder in chronology to Justin, others to his transcribers: it was Eleazar the high priest to whom Ptolemy applied.

tians, where they are until now. They are also in the possession of all Jews throughout the world; but they, though they read, do not understand what is said, but count us foes and enemies; and, like yourselves, they kill and punish us whenever they have the power, as you can well believe. For in the Jewish war which lately raged, Barchochebas, the leader of the revolt of the Jews, gave orders that Christians alone should be led to cruel punishments, unless they would deny Jesus Christ and utter blasphemy. In these books, then, of the prophets we found Jesus our Christ foretold as coming, born of a virgin, growing up to man's estate, and healing every disease and every sickness, and raising the dead, and being hated, and unrecognized, and crucified, and dying, and rising again, and ascending into heaven, and being, and being called, the Son of God. We find it also predicted that certain persons should be sent by Him into every nation to publish these things, and that rather among the Gentiles [than among the Jews] men should believe on Him. And He was predicted before He appeared, first 5000 years before, and again 3000, then 2000, then 1000, and yet again 800: for in the succession of generations prophets after prophets arose.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHRIST PREDICTED BY MOSES.

Moses then, who was the first of the prophets, spoke in these very words: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until He come for whom it is reserved; and He shall be the desire of the nations, binding His foal to the vine, washing his robe in the blood of the grape."* It is yours to make accurate inquiry, and ascertain up to whose time the Jews had a law-

* Gen. xlix. 10.

giver and king of their own. Up to the time of Jesus Christ, who taught us, and interpreted the prophecies which were not yet understood, [they had a law-giver] as was foretold by the holy and divine Spirit of prophecy through Moses, "that a ruler would not fail the Jews until He should come for whom the kingdom was reserved" (for Judah was the forefather of the Jews, from whom also they have their name of Jews); and after He (*i. e.* Christ) appeared, you began to rule the Jews, and gained possession of all their territory. And the prophecy, "He shall be the expectation of the nations," signified that there would be some of all nations who should look for Him to come again. And this indeed you can see for yourselves, and be convinced of by fact. For of all races of men there are some who look for Him who was crucified in Judæa, and after whose crucifixion the land was straightway surrendered to you as spoil of war. And the prophecy, "binding His foal to the vine, and washing His robe in the blood of the grape," was a significant symbol of the things that were to happen to Christ, and of what he was to do. For the foal of an ass stood bound to a vine at the entrance of a village, and He ordered His acquaintances to bring it to Him then; and when it was brought, He mounted and sat upon it, and entered Jerusalem, where was the vast temple of the Jews which was afterwards destroyed by you. And after this He was crucified, that the rest of the prophecy might be fulfilled. For this "washing His robe in the blood of the grape" was predictive of the passion He was to endure, cleansing by His blood those who believe on Him. For what is called by the Divine Spirit through the prophet "His robe," are those men who believe in Him in whom abideth the seed of God, the Word. And what is spoken of as "the blood of the grape," signifies that He who should appear would have blood, though not of the seed of man, but of the power of

God. And the first power after God the Father and Lord of all is the Word, who is also the Son; and of Him, we will, in what follows, relate how He took flesh and became man. For as man did not make the blood of the vine, but God, so it was hereby intimated that the blood should not be of human seed, but of divine power, as we have said above. And Isaiah, another prophet, foretelling the same things in other words, spoke thus: "A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a flower has sprung from the root of Jesse; and in His arm shall the nations trust." And a star of light has arisen, and a flower has sprung from the root of Jesse —this Christ. For by the power of God He was conceived by a virgin of the seed of Jacob, who was the father of Judah, who, as we have shown, was the father of the Jews; and Jesse was His forefather according to the oracle, and He was the son of Jacob and Judah according to lineal descent.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MANNER OF CHRIST'S BIRTH PREDICTED.

And hear again how Isaiah in express words foretold that He should be born of a virgin; for he spoke thus: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bring forth a son, and they shall say for His name, 'God with us.'" For things which were incredible and seemed impossible with men, these God predicted by the Spirit of prophecy as about to come to pass, in order that, when they came to pass, there might be no unbelief, but faith, because of their prediction. But lest some, not understanding the prophecy now cited, should charge us with the very things we have been laying to the charge of the poets who say that Jupiter went in to women through lust, let us try to explain the words. This, then, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive," signifies that a virgin

should conceive without intercourse. For if she had intercourse with any one whatever, she was no longer a virgin; but the power of God having come upon the virgin, overshadowed her, and caused her, while yet a virgin to conceive. And the angel of God who was sent to the same virgin at that time brought her good news, saying, "Behold, thou shalt conceive of the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a Son, and He shall be called the Son of the Highest, and thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins," *—as they who have recorded all that concerns our Saviur Jesus Christ have taught, whom we believed, since by Isaiah also, whom we have now adduced, the Spirit of prophecy declared that He should be born as we intimated before. It is wrong, therefore, to understand the Spirit and the power of God as anything else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God, as the foresaid prophet Moses declared; and it was this which, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive, not by intercourse, but by power. And the name Jesus in the Hebrew language means Σωτηρ (Savior) in the Greek tongue. Wherefore, too, the angel said to the virgin, "Thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins." And that the prophets are inspired by no other than the Divine Word, even you, as I fancy, will grant.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PLACE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH FORETOLD—OTHER FULFILLED PROPHECIES.

And hear what part of earth He was to be born in, as another prophet, Micah, foretold. He spoke thus: "And thou, Bethlehem, the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a Governor, who shall feed my people." † Now there is a village in

* Luke i. 32; Matt. i. 21.

† Micah, v. 2.

the land of the Jews, thirty-five stadia from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born, as you can ascertain also from the registers of the taxing made under Cyrenius, your first procurator in Judæa.

And how Christ after He was born was to escape the notice of other men until He grew to man's estate, which also came to pass, hear what was foretold regarding this. There are the following predictions :*—"Unto us a child is born, and unto us a young man is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders;" † which is significant of the power of the cross, for to it, when he was crucified, He applied His shoulders, as shall be more clearly made out in the ensuing discourse. And again the same prophet Isaiah, being inspired with the prophetic Spirit, said, "I have spread out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walk in a way that is not good. They now ask of me judgment, and dare to draw near to God."‡ And again in other words, through another prophet, He says, "They pierced my hands and my feet, and for my vesture they cast lots."§ And indeed, David, the king and prophet, who uttered these things, suffered none of them; but Jesus Christ stretched forth his hands, being crucified by the Jews speaking against Him, and denying He was the Christ. And as the prophet spoke, they tormented Him, and set Him on the judgment-seat, and said, judge us. And the expression, "They pierced my hands and my feet," was used in reference to the nails of the cross which were fixed in His hands and feet. And after He was crucified they cast lots upon His vesture, and they that crucified Him parted it among them. And that

* These predictions have so little reference to the point Justin intends to make out, that some editors have supposed that a passage has here been lost. Others think the irrelevancy an insufficient ground for such a supposition.

† Isa. ix. 6. ‡ Isa. lxv. 2, lviii. 2. § Ps. xxii. 16.

these things did happen, you can ascertain from the acts of Pontius Pilate. And we will cite the prophetic utterances of another prophet, Zephaniah,* to the effect that He was foretold expressly as to sit upon the foal of an ass and to enter Jerusalem. The words are these: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy King cometh unto thee; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass."†

CHAPTER XXV.

DIFFERENT MODES OF PROPHECY—UTTERANCES OF THE FATHER—UTTERANCES OF THE SON.

But when you hear the utterances of the prophets spoken as it were personally, you must not suppose that they are spoken by the inspired themselves, but by the Divine Word who moves them. For sometimes He declares things that are to come to pass, in the manner of one who foretells the future; sometimes He speaks as from the person of God the Lord and Father of all; sometimes as from the person of Christ; sometimes as from the person of the people answering the Lord or His Father, just as you can see even in your own writers, one man being the writer of the whole, but introducing the persons who converse. And this the Jews who possessed the books of the prophets did not understand, and therefore did not recognize Christ even when He came but even hate us who say that He has come, and who prove that, as was predicted, He was crucified by them.

And that this, too, may be clear to you, there were

* The reader will notice that these are not the words of Zephaniah, but of Zechariah, (ix., 9), to whom also Justin refers them in the *Dial. Tryph.* c. 53.

† Zech. ix. 9.

spoken from the person as the Father, through Isaiah the prophet, the following words: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, and my people hath not understood. Woe, sinful nation, a people full of sins, a wicked seed, children that are transgressors, ye have forsaken the Lord."* And again elsewhere when the same prophet speaks in like manner from the person of the Father, "What is the house that ye build for me? saith the Lord. The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool."† And when again, in another place, "Your new moons and your sabbaths my soul hateth; and the great day of the fast and of ceasing from labor I cannot away with: nor, if ye come to be seen of me, will I hear you; your hands are full of blood; and if ye bring fine flour, incense, it is abomination unto me: the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls I do not desire. For who hath required this at your hands? But loose every bond of wickedness, tear asunder the tight knots of violent contracts, cover the houseless and naked, deal thy bread to the hungry."‡ What kind of things are taught through the prophets from [the person of] God, you can now perceive.

And when the Spirit of prophecy speaks from the person of Christ, the utterances are of this sort: "I have spread out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walk in a way that is not good."§ And again: "I gave my back to the scourges, and my cheeks to the buffetings; I turned not away my face from the shame of spittings; and the Lord was my helper: therefore was I not confounded: but I set my face as a firm rock; and I knew that I should not be ashamed, for He

* Isa. i. 3. This quotation varies only in one word from that of the LXX.
† Isa. lxvi. 1. ‡ Isa. i. 14, xviii. 6. § Isa. lxv. 2.

is near that justifieth me."* And again, when he says, "They cast lots upon my vesture, and pierced my hands and my feet. And I lay down and slept, and rose again, because the Lord sustained me."† And again, when he says, "They spake with their lips, they wagged the head, saying, Let Him deliver Himself."‡ And that all these things happened to Christ at the hands of the Jews, you can ascertain. For when He was crucified, they did shoot out the lip, and wagged their heads, saying, "Let Him who raised the dead save Himself."§

CHAPTER XXVI.

DIRECT PREDICTIONS BY THE SPIRIT.

And when the Spirit of prophecy speaks as predicting things that are to come to pass, He speaks in this way: "For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."‖ And that it did so come to pass, we can convince you. For from Jerusalem there went out into the world, men, twelve in number, and these illiterate, of no ability in speaking: but by the power of God they proclaimed to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach to all the word of God; and we who formerly used to murder one another do not only now refrain from making war upon our enemies, but also, that we may not lie nor deceive our examiners, willingly die confessing Christ. For that saying, "The tongue has sworn, but the mind is unsworn,"¶ might be imitated by us in this matter. But if the soldiers

* Isa. l. 6. † Ps. xxii. 18 iii. 5. ‡ Ps. xxii. 7. § Comp. Matt. xxvii. 36.
‖ Isa., ii., 3. ¶ Eurip. *Hipp.* 608.

enrolled by you, and who have taken the military oath, prefer their allegiance to their own life, and parents, and country, and all kindred, though you can offer them nothing incorruptible, it were verily ridiculous if we, who earnestly long for incorruption, should not endure all things in order to obtain what we desire from Him who is able to grant it.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHRIST'S ADVENT FORETOLD.

And hear how it was foretold concerning those who published His doctrine and proclaimed His appearance, the above-mentioned prophet and king speaking thus by the Spirit of prophecy: "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their voice has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. In the sun hath He set His tabernacle, and He as a bridegroom going out of His chamber shall rejoice as a giant to run His course."* And we have thought it right and relevant to mention some other prophetic utterances of David besides these; from which you may learn how the Spirit of prophecy exhorts men to live, and how He foretold the conspiracy which was formed against Christ by Herod the king of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, and Pilate, who was your governor among them, with his soldiers; and how He should be believed on by men of every race; and how God calls Him His Son, and has declared that He will subdue all His enemies under Him; and how the devils, as much as they can, strive to escape the power of God the Father and Lord of all, and the power of Christ Himself; and how God

* Ps. xix. 2, etc.

calls all to repentance before the day of judgment comes. These things were uttered thus: "Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the scornful: but his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in His law will he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of waters, which shall give his fruit in his season; and his leaf shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. The ungodly are not so, but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the righteous. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous; but the way of the ungodly shall perish. Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine new things? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against His Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast their yoke from us. He that dwelleth in the heavens shall laugh at them, and the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall He speak to them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure. Yet have I been set by Him a King on Zion His holy hill, declaring the decree of the Lord. The Lord said to me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth as Thy possession. Thou shalt herd them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shalt Thou dash them in pieces. Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, all ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Embrace instruction, lest at any time the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when His wrath has been suddenly kindled. Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him."—Ps. i. ii.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CRUCIFIXION PREDICTED—PROPHECY USING THE PAST TENSE—RESPONSIBILITY ASSERTED.

And again, in another prophecy, the Spirit of prophecy, through the same David, intimated that Christ, after He had been crucified, should reign, and spoke as follows: "Sing to the Lord, all the earth, and day by day declare His salvation. For great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, to be feared above all the gods. For all the gods of the nations are idols of devils; but God made the heavens. Glory and praise are before His face, strength and glorying are in the habitation of His holiness. Give glory to the Lord, the Father everlasting. Receive grace, and enter His presence, and worship in His holy courts. Let all the earth fear before His face; let it be established, and not shaken. Let them rejoice among the nations. The Lord hath reigned from the tree."*

But when the Sprit of prophecy speaks of things that are about to come to pass as if they had already taken place—as may be observed even in the passages already cited by me—that this circumstance may afford no excuse to readers [for misinterpreting them], we will make even this also quite plain. The things which He absolutely knows will take place, He predicts as if already they had taken place. And that the utterances must be thus received, you will preceive, if you give your attention to them. The words cited above, David uttered 1500† years before Christ became a man and was crucified; and no one of those who lived before Him, nor yet of His contemporaries, afforded joy to the Gentiles by being crucified.

* Ps. xcvi. 1, etc. This last clause, which is not extant in our copies either of the LXX. or of the Hebrew, Justin charged the Jews with erasing. See *Dial. Tryph.* c. 73. † A chronological error, whether of the copyist or of Justin himself cannot be known.

But our Jesus Christ, being crucified and dead, rose again, and having ascended to heaven, reigned; and by those things which were published in His name among all nations by the apostles, there is joy afforded to those who expect the immortality promised by Him.

But lest some suppose, from what has been said by us, that we say that whatever happens, happens by a fatal necessity, because it is foretold as known beforehand, this too we explain. We have learned from the prophets, and we hold it to be true, that punishments, and chastisements, and good rewards, are rendered according to the merit of each man's actions. Since if it be not so, but all things happen by fate, neither is anything at all in our own power. For if it be fated that this man, *e. g.*, be good, and this other evil, neither is the former meritorious nor the latter to be blamed. And again, unless the human race have the power of avoiding evil and choosing good by free choice, they are not accountable for their actions, of whatever kind they be. But that it is by free choice they both walk uprightly and stumble, we thus demonstrate. We see the same man making a transition to opposite things. Now, if it had been fated that he were to be either good or bad, he could never have been capable of both the opposites, nor of so many transitions. But not even would some be good and others bad, since we thus make fate the cause of evil, and exhibit her as acting in opposition to herself; or that which has been already stated would seem to be true, that neither virtue nor vice is anything, but that things are only reckoned good or evil by opinion; which, as the true word shows, is the greatest impiety and wickedness. But this we assert is inevitable fate, that they who choose the good have worthy rewards, and they who choose the opposite have their merited awards. For not like other things, as trees and quadrupeds, which cannot act by

choice, did God make man: for neither would he be worthy of reward or praise did he not of himself choose the good, but were created for this end; nor, if he were evil, would he be worthy of punishment, not being evil of himself, but being able to be nothing else than what he was made.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CRUCIFIXION NOT NULLIFIED BY PROPHECY.

And the holy Spirit of prophecy taught us this, telling us by Moses that God spoke thus to the man first created: "Behold, before thy face are good and evil: choose the good."* And again, by the other prophet Isaiah, that the following utterance was made as if from God the Father and Lord of all: "Wash you, make you clean; put away evils from your souls; learn to do well; judge the orphan, and plead for the widow: and come and let us reason together, saith the Lord: And if your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool; and if they be red like as crimson, I will make them white as snow. And if ye be willing and obey me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye do not obey me, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."† And that expression, "The sword shall devour you," does not mean that the disobedient shall be slain by the sword, but the sword of God is fire, of which they who choose to do wickedly become the fuel. Wherefore He says, "The sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." And if He had spoken concerning a sword that cuts and at once despatches, He would not have said, shall *devour*. And so, too, Plato, when he says, "The blame is his who chooses, and God is blameless,"‡ took this from the prophet Moses and uttered it. For Moses is more ancient than all the Greek writers. And

* Deut. xxx. 15, 19. † Isa. i. 16, etc. ‡ Plato, *Rep.* x.

whatever both philosophers and poets have said concerning the immortality of the soul, or punishment after death, or contemplation of things heavenly, or doctrines of the like kind, they have received such suggestions from the prophets as have enabled them to understand and interpret these things. And hence there seem to be seeds of truth among all men; but they are charged with not accurately understanding [the truth] when they assert contradictories. So that what we say about future events being foretold, we do not say it as if they came about by a fatal necessity; but God foreknowing all that shall be done by all men, and it being His decree that the future actions of men shall all be recompensed according to their several value, He foretells by the Spirit of prophecy that He will bestow meet rewards according to the merit of the actions done, always urging the human race to effort and recollection, showing that He cares and provides for men. But by the agency of the devils death has been decreed against those who read the books of Hystaspes, or of the Sibyl, or of the prophets, that through fear they may prevent men who read them from receiving the knowledge of the good, and may retain them in slavery to themselves; which, however, they could not always effect. For not only do we fearlessly read them, but, as you see, bring them for your inspection, knowing that their contents will be pleasing to all. And if we persuade even a few, our gain will be very great; for, as good husbandmen, we shall receive the reward from the Master.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHRIST'S SESSION IN HEAVEN FORETOLD—THE WORD IN THE WORLD BEFORE CHRIST.

And that God the Father of all would bring Christ to heaven after He had raised Him from the dead, and would keep Him there until He has subdued His enemies the

devils, and until the number of those who are foreknown by Him as good and virtuous is complete, on whose account He has still delayed the consummation—hear what was said by the prophet David. These are His words: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool. The Lord shall send to Thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem; and rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies. With Thee is the government in the day of Thy power, in the beauties of Thy saints: from the womb of morning * have I begotten Thee."† That which he says, "He shall send to Thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem," is predictive of the mighty word, which His apostles, going forth from Jerusalem, preached everywhere; and though death is decreed against those who teach or at all confess the name of Christ, we every-where both embrace and teach it. And if you also read these words in a hostile spirit, ye can do no more, as I said before, than kill us; which indeed does no harm to us, but to you and all who unjustly hate us, and do not repent, brings eternal punishment by fire.

But lest some should, without reason, and for the perversion of what we teach, maintain that we say that Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago under Cyrenius, and subsequently, in the time of Pontius Pilate, taught what we say He taught; and should cry out against us as though all men who were born before Him were irresponsible—let us anticipate and solve the difficulty. We have been taught that Christ is the first-born of God, and we have declared above that He is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers; and those who lived reasonably are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists; as, among the Greeks, Socrates, and Heraclitus, and men like them; and among the barbarians, Abraham, and Ananias,

* Or, "before the morning star." † Ps. cx. 1, etc.

and Azarias, and Misael, and Elias, and many others whose actions and names we now decline to recount, because we know it would be tedious. So that even they who lived before Christ, and lived without reason, were wicked and hostile to Christ, and slew those who lived reasonably. But why, through the power of the Word, according to the will of God the Father and Lord of all, He was born of a virgin as a man and was named Jesus, and was crucified, and died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, an intelligent man will be able to comprehend from what has been already so largely said. And we, since the proof of this subject is less needful now, will pass for the present to the proof of those things which are urgent.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DESOLATION OF JUDÆA FORETOLD—CHRIST'S WORK AND DEATH FORETOLD —HIS REJECTION BY THE JEWS FORETOLD.

That the land of the Jews, then, was to be laid waste, hear what was said by the Spirit of prophecy. And the words were spoken as if from the person of the people wondering at what had happened. They are these: "Sion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. The house of our sanctuary has become a curse, and the glory which our fathers blessed is burned up with fire, and all its glorious things are laid waste: and Thou refrainest Thyself at these things, and hast held thy peace, and hast humbled us very sore."* And ye are convinced that Jerusalem has been laid waste, as was predicted. And concerning its desolation, and that no one should be permitted to inhabit it, there was the following prophecy by Isaiah: "Their land is desolate, their enemies consume it before them, and none of them shall d well therein." † And that it is guarded by you lest any one dwell in it, and that death

* Isa. lxiv. 10-12.

† Isa. i. 7.

is decreed against a Jew apprehended entering it, you know very well.

And that it was predicted that our Christ should heal all diseases and raise the dead, hear what was said. These are the words: "At His coming, the lame shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be clear speaking: the blind shall see, and the lepers shall be cleansed; and the dead shall rise, and walk about."* And that He did those things, you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate. And how it was predicted by the Spirit of prophecy that He and those who hoped in Him should be slain, hear what was said by Isaiah. These are the words: "Behold now the righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and just men are taken away, and no man considereth. From the presence of wickedness is the righteous man taken, and his burial shall be in peace: he is taken from our midst."† And again, how it was said by the same Isaiah, that the Gentile nations who were not looking for Him should worship Him, but the Jews who always expected Him should not recognize Him when He came. And the words are spoken as from the person of Christ; and they are these: "I was manifest to them that asked not for me; I was found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, to a nation that called not on my name. I spread out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walked in a way that is not good, but follow after their own sins; a people that provoketh me to anger to my face."‡ For the Jews having the prophecies, and being always in expectation of the Christ to come, did not recognize Him; and not only so, but even treated Him shamefully. But the Gentiles, who had never heard anything about Christ, until the apostles set out from Jerusalem and preached concerning Him, and gave them the prophecies, were filled with joy

* Isa. xxxv. 6. † Isa. lvii. 1. ‡ Isa. lxv. 1–3.

and faith, and cast away their idols, and dedicated themselves to the Unbegotten God through Christ. And that it was foreknown that these infamous things should be uttered against those who confessed Christ, and that those who slandered Him, and said that it was well to preserve the ancient customs, should be miserable, hear what was briefly said by Isaiah; it is this: "Woe unto them that call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet."*

CHAPTER XXXII.

HIS HUMILIATION PREDICTED.

But that, having become man for our sakes, He endured to suffer and to be dishonored, and that He shall come again with glory, hear the prophecies which relate to this; they are these: "Because they delivered His soul unto death, and He was numbered with the transgressors, He has borne the sin of many, and shall make intercession for the transgressors. For, behold, my servant shall deal prudently, and shall be exalted, and shall be greatly extolled. As many were astonished at Thee, so marred shall Thy form be before men, and so hidden from them Thy glory; so shall many nations wonder, and the kings shall shut their mouths at Him. For they to whom it was not told concerning Him, and they who have not heard, shall understand. O Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared before Him as a child, as a root in a dry ground. He had no form, nor glory; and we saw Him, and there was no form nor comeliness; but His form was dishonored and marred more than the sons of men. A man under the stroke, and knowing how to bear infirmity, because His face was turned away: He was despised, and of no reputation. It is He who bears our sins, and is afflicted for us; yet we did esteem Him smitten,

* Isa. v. 20.

stricken, and afflicted. But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of peace was upon Him, by His stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep, are gone astray; every man has wandered in his own way. And He delivered Him for our sins; and He opened not His mouth for all His affliction. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away."* Accordingly, after He was crucified, even all His acquaintances forsook Him, having denied Him; and afterwards, when He had risen from the dead and appeared to them, and had taught them to read the prophecies in which all these things were foretold as coming to pass, and when they had seen Him ascending into heaven, and had believed, and had received power sent thence by Him upon them, and went to every race of men, they taught these things, and were called apostles.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MAJESTY OF CHRIST—CERTAIN FULFILLMENT OF PROPHECY.

And that the Spirit of prophecy might signify to us that He who suffers these things has an ineffable origin, and rules His enemies, He spake thus: "His generation who shall declare? because His life is cut off from the earth: for their transgressions he comes to death. And I will give the wicked for His burial, and the rich for His death; because He did no violence, neither was any deceit in His mouth. And the Lord is pleased to cleanse Him from the stripe. If He be given for sin, your soul shall see His seed prolonged in days. And the Lord is pleased to deliver His soul from grief, to show Him light, and to form

* Isa. lii. 13-15, liii. 1-8.

Him with knowledge, to justify the righteous who richly serveth many. And He shall bear our iniquities. Therefore He shall inherit many, and He shall divide the spoil of the strong; because His soul was delivered to death: and He was numbered with the transgressors; and He bare the sins of many, and He was delivered up for their transgressions."* Hear, too, how He was to ascend into heaven according to prophecy. It was thus spoken: "Lift up the gates of heaven; be ye opened, that the King of glory may come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty."† And how also He should come again out of heaven with glory, hear what was spoken in reference to this by the prophet Jeremiah.‡ His words are: "Behold, as the Son of man He cometh in the clouds of heaven, and His angels with Him."§

Since, then, we prove that all things which have already happened had been predicted by the prophets before they came to pass, we must necessarily believe also that those things which are in like manner predicted but are yet to come to pass, shall certainly happen. For as the things which have already taken place came to pass when foretold, and even though unknown, so shall the things that remain, even though they be unknown and disbelieved, yet come to pass. For the prophets have proclaimed two advents of His: the one, that which is already past, when he came as a dishonored and suffering man; but the second, when, according to prophecy, He shall come from heaven with glory accompanied by his angelic host, when also He shall raise the bodies of all men who have lived, and shall clothe those of the worthy with immortality, and shall send those of the wicked, endued with eternal sensibility, into ever-

* Isa. liii. 8–12. † Ps. xxiv. 7.

‡ This prophecy occurs not in Jeremiah, but in Dan. vii. 13. § Dan. vii. 13.

lasting fire with the wicked devils. And that these things also have been foretold as yet to be, we will prove. By Ezekiel the prophet it was said: "Joint shall be joined to joint, and bone to bone, and flesh shall grow again; and every knee shall bow to the Lord, and every tongue shall confess Him."* And in what kind of sensation and punishment the wicked are to be, hear from what was said in like manner with reference to this; it is as follows: "Their worm shall not rest, and their fire shall not be quenched;"† and then shall they repent, when it profits them not. And what the people of the Jews shall say and do, when they see Him coming in glory, has been thus predicted by Zechariah the prophet: "I will command the four winds to gather the scattered children; I will command the north wind to bring them and the south wind, that it keep not back, And then in Jerusalem there shall be great lamentation, not the lamentation of mouths or of lips, but the lamentation of the heart; and they shall rend not their garments, but their hearts. Tribe by tribe they shall mourn, and then they shall look on Him whom they have pierced; and they shall say, Why, O Lord hast Thou made us to err from Thy way? The glory which our fathers blessed, has for us been turned into shame."‡

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SUMMARY OF THE PROPHECIES.

Though we could bring forward many other prophecies, we forbear, judging these sufficient for the persuasion of those who have ears to hear and understand; and considering also that those persons are able to see that we do not make mere assertions without being able to produce proof,

* Ezek. xxxvii. 7, 8; Isa. xlv. 24. † Isa. lxvi. 24.
‡ Zech. xii. 3–14; Isa. lxiii. 17, lxiv. 11.

like those fables that are told of the so-called sons of Jupiter. For with what reason should we believe of a crucified man that He is the first-born of the Unbegotten God, and Himself will pass judgment on the whole human race, unless we had found testimonies concerning Him published before He came and was born as man, and unless we saw that things had happened accordingly—the devastation of the land of the Jews, and men of every race persuaded by His teaching through the apostles, and rejecting their old habits, in which, being deceived, they had had their conversation; yea, seeing ourselves, too, and knowing that the Christians from among the Gentiles are both more numerous and more true than those from among the Jews and Samaritans? For all the other human races are called Gentiles by the Spirit of prophecy; but the Jewish and Samaritan races are called the tribe of Israel, and the house of Jacob. And the prophecy in which it was predicted that there should be more believers from the Gentiles than from the Jews and Samaritans, we will produce: it ran thus: "Rejoice, O barren, thou that dost not bear; break forth and shout, thou that dost not travail, because many more are the children of the desolate than of her that hath a husband." For all the Gentiles were "desolate" of the true God, serving the works of their hands; but the Jews and Samaritans, having the word of God delivered to them by the prophets, and always expecting the Christ, did not recognize Him when He came, except some few, of whom the Spirit of prophecy by Isaiah had predicted that they should be saved. He spoke as from their person: "Except the Lord had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah."† For Sodom and Gomorrah are related by Moses to have been cities of ungodly men, which God burned with fire and brimstone, and overthrew, no one of

* Isa. liv. 1. † Isa. i. 9.

their inhabitants being saved except a certain stranger, a Chaldæan by birth, whose name was Lot; with whom also his daughters were rescued. And those who care may yet see their whole country desolate and burned, and remaining barren. And to show how those from among the Gentiles were foretold as more true and more believing, we will cite what was said by Isaiah* the prophet; for he spoke as follows: "Israel is uncircumcised in heart, but the Gentires are uncircumcised in the flesh." So many things, therefore, as these, when they are seen with the eye, are enough to produce conviction and belief in those who embrace the truth, and are not bigoted in their opinions, nor are governed by their passions.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ORIGIN OF HEATHEN MYTHOLOGY.

But those who hand down the myths which the poets have made, adduce no proof to the youths who learn them and we proceed to demonstrate that they have been uttered by the influence of the wicked demons, to deceive and lead astray the human race. For having heard it proclaimed through the prophets that the Christ was to come, and that the ungodly among men were to be punished by fire, they put forward many to be called sons of Jupiter, under the impression that they would be able to produce in men the idea that the things which were said with regard to Christ were mere marvellous tales, like the things which were said by the poets. And these things were said both among the Greeks and among all nations where they [the demons] heard the prophets foretelling that Christ would specially be believed in; but that in hearing what was said by the prophets they did not accurately understand it, but imitated what was

* The following words are found, not in Isaiah, but in Jer. ix. 26.

said of our Christ, like men who are in error, we will make plain. The prophet Moses, then, was, as we have already said, older than all writers; and by him, as we have also said before, it was thus predicted: "There shall not fail a prince from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until He come for whom it is reserved; and He shall be the desire of the Gentiles, binding His foal to the vine, washing His robe in the blood of the grape."* The devils accordingly, when they heard these prophetic words, said that Bacchus was the son of Jupiter, and gave out that he was the discoverer of the vine, and they number wine [or, the ass] among his mysteries; and they taught that, having been torn in pieces, he ascended into heaven. And because in the prophecy of Moses it had not been expressly intimated whether He who was to come was the Son of God, and whether He would, riding on the foal, remain on earth or ascend into heaven, and because the name of "foal" could mean either the foal of an ass or the foal of a horse, they, not knowing whether He who was foretold would bring the foal of an ass or of a horse as the sign of His coming, nor whether He was the Son of God, as we said above, or of man, gave out that Bellerophon, a man born of man, himself ascended to heaven on his horse Pegasus. And when they heard it said by the other prophet Isaiah, that He should be born of a virgin, and by His own means ascend into heaven, they pretended that Perseus was spoken of. And when they knew what was said, as has been cited above, in the prophecies written aforetime, "Strong as a giant to run his course,"† they said that Hercules was strong, and had journeyed over the whole earth. And when, again, they learned that it had been foretold that He should heal every sickness, and raise the dead, they produced Æsculapius.

* Gen. xlix. 10.

† Ps. xix. 5.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SYMBOLS OF THE CROSS—THE DEMONS STILL MISLEAD MEN.

But in no instance, not even in any of those called sons of Jupiter, did they imitate the being crucified; for it was not understood by them, all the things said of it having been put symbolically. And this, as the prophet foretold, is the greatest symbol of His power and rule; as is also proved by the things which fall under our observation. For consider all the things in the world, whether without this form they could be administered or have any community. For the sea is not traversed except that trophy which is called a sail abide safe in the ship; and the earth is not ploughed without it: diggers and mechanics do not their work, except with tools which have this shape. And the human form differs from that of the irrational animals in nothing else than in its being erect and having the hands extended, and having on the face extending from the forehead what is called the nose, through which there is respiration for the living creature; and this shows no other form than that of the cross. And so it was said by the prophet, "The breath before our face is the Lord Christ."* And the power of this form is shown by your own symbols on what are called "vexilla" [banners] and trophies, with which all your state processions are made, using these as the insignia of your power and government, even though you do so unwittingly. And with this form you consecrate the images of your emperors when they die, and you name them gods by inscriptions. Since, therefore, we have urged you both by reason and by an evident form, and to the utmost of our ability, we know that now we are blameless even though you disbelieve; for our part is done and finished.

* From Lam. iv. 20 (Sept.).

But the evil spirits were not satisfied with saying, before Christ's appearance, that those who were said to be sons of Jupiter were born of him; but after He had appeared and been born among men, and when they learned how He had been foretold by the prophets, and knew that He should be believed on and looked for by every nation, they again, as was said above, put forward other men, the Samaritans Simon and Menander, who did many mighty works by magic, and deceived many, and still keep them deceived. For even among yourselves, as we said before, Simon was in the royal city Rome in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and so greatly astonished the sacred senate and people of the Romans, that he was considered a god, and honored, like the others whom you honor as gods, with a statue. Wherefore we pray that the sacred senate and your people may, along with yourselves, be arbiters of this our memorial, in order that if any one be entangled by that man's doctrines, he may learn the truth, and so be able to escape error; and as for the statue, if you please, destroy it.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE DEMONS CAUSE PERSECUTION—AND RAISE UP HERETICS—PLATO'S OBLIGATION TO MOSES—PLATO'S DOCTRINE OF THE CROSS.

Nor can the demons persuade men that there will be no conflagration for the punishment of the wicked; as they were unable to effect that Christ should be hidden after He came. But this only can they effect, that they who live irrationally, and were brought up licentiously in wicked customs, and are prejudiced in their own opinions, should kill and hate us; whom we not only do not hate, but, as is proved, pity and endeavour to lead to repentance. For we do not fear death, since it is acknowledged we must surely die; and there is nothing new, but all things continue the same in this administration of things; and if satiety over-

takes those who enjoy even one year of these things, they ought to give heed to our doctrines, that they may live eternally free both from suffering and from want. But if they believe that there is nothing after death, but declare that those who die pass into insensibility, then they become our benefactors when they set us free from the sufferings and necessities of this life, and prove themselves to be wicked, and inhuman, and bigoted. For they kill us with no intention of delivering us, but cut us off that we may be deprived of life and pleasure.

And, as we said before, the devils put forward Marcion of Pontus, who is even now teaching men to deny that God is the maker of all things in heaven and on earth, and that the Christ predicted by the prophets is His Son, and preaches another god besides the Creator of all, and likewise another son. And this man may have believed, as if he alone knew the truth, and laugh at us, though they have no proof of what they say, but are carried away irrationally as lambs by a wolf, and become the prey of atheistical doctrines, and of devils. For they who are called devils attempt nothing else than to seduce men from God who made them, and from Christ His first-begotten; and those who are unable to raise themselves above the earth they have riveted, and do now rivet, to things earthly, and to the works of their own hands; but those who devote themselves to the contemplation of things divine, they secretly beat back; and if they have not a wise sober-mindedness, and a pure and passionless life, they drive them into godlessness.

And that you may learn that it was from our teachers—we mean the account given through the prophets—that Plato borrowed his statement that God, having altered matter which was shapeless, made the world, hear the very words spoken through Moses, who, as above shown, was the first prophet, and of greater antiquity than the Greek

writers; and through whom the Spirit of prophecy, signifying how and from what materials God at first formed the world, spake thus: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was invisible and unfurnished, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said, Let there be light; and it was so." So that both Plato and they who agree with him, and we ourselves, have learned, and you also can be convinced, that by the word of God the whole world was made out of the substance spoken of before by Moses. And that which the poets call Erebus, we know was spoken of formerly by Moses.*

And the physiological discussion† concerning the Son of God in the *Timæus* of Plato, where he says," He placed him crosswise in the universe," he borrowed in like manner from Moses; for in the writings of Moses it is related how at that time, when the Israelites went out of Egypt and were in the wilderness, they fell in with poisonous beasts, both vipers and asps, and every kind of serpent, which slew the people; and that Moses, by the inspiration and influence of God, took brass, and made it into the figure of a cross and set it on the holy tabernacle, and said to the people, "If ye look to this figure, and believe, ye shall be saved thereby."‡ And when this was done it is recorded that the serpents died, and it is handed down that the people thus escaped death. Which things Plato reading, and not accurately understanding, and not apprehending that it was the figure of the cross, but taking it to be a placing crosswise, he said that the power of the first God was placed crosswise in the universe. And as to his speaking of a third, he did this because he read, as we said above, that which was spoken by Moses, "that the spirit of God

* Comp. Deut. xxxii. 22.

† Literally, "that which is treated physiologically."

‡ Num. xxi. 8.

moved over the waters." For he gives the second place to the Logos which is with God, who he said was placed crosswise in the universe; and the third place to the Spirit who was said to be borne upon the water, saying, "And the third around the third." And hear how the Spirit of prophecy signified through Moses that there should be a conflagration. He spoke thus: "Everlasting fire shall descend, and shall devour to the pit beneath."* It is not, then, that we hold the same opinions as others, but that all speak in imitation of ours. Among us these things can be heard and learned from persons who do not even know the forms of the letters, who are uneducated and barbarous in speech, though wise and believing in mind: some, indeed, even maimed and deprived of eyesight; so that you may understand that these things are not the effect of human wisdom, but are uttered by the power of God.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CHRISTIAN BAPTISM—ITS IMITATION BY DEMONS.

I will also relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we had been made new through Christ; lest, if we omit this, we seem to be unfair in the explanation we are making. As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said, "Except ye be born again, ye shall not

* Deut. xxxii. 22.

enter into the kingdom of heaven."* Now, that it is impossible for those who have once been born to enter into their mothers' wombs, is manifest to all. And how those who have sinned and repent shall escape their sins, is declared by Isaias the prophet, as I wrote above;† he thus speaks: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from your souls; learn to do well; judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow: and come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. And though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white like wool; and though they be as crimson, I will make them white as snow. But if ye refuse and rebel, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."‡

And for this [rite] we have learned from the apostles this reason. Since at our birth we were born without our own knowledge or choice, by our parents coming together, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked training; in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water the remission of sins formerly committed, there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again, and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe; he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed calling him by this name alone. For no one can utter the name of the ineffable God; and if any one dare to say that there is a name, he raves with a hopeless madness. And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, he who is illuminated is washed.

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* John iii. 5. † Chap. xliv. ‡ Isa. i. 16-20.

And the demons, indeed, having heard this washing published by the prophet, instigated those who enter their temples, and are about to approach them with libations and burnt-offerings, also to sprinkle themselves; and they cause them also to wash themselves entirely, as they depart [from the sacrifice], before they enter into the shrines in which their images are set. And the command, too, given by the priests to those who enter and worship in the temples, that they take off their shoes, the devils, learning what happened to the above-mentioned prophet Moses, have given in imitation of these things. For at that juncture, when Moses was ordered to go down into Egypt and lead out the people of the Israelites who were there, and while he was tending the flocks of his maternal uncle * in the land of Arabia, our Christ conversed with him under the appearance of fire from a bush, and said, "Put off thy shoes, and draw near and hear." And he, when he had put off his shoes and drawn near, heard that he was to go down into Egypt and lead out the people of the Israelites there; and he received mighty power from Christ, who spoke to him in the appearance of fire, and went down and led out the people, having done great and marvellous things; which, if you desire to know, you will learn accurately from his writings.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

HOW GOD APPEARED TO MOSES.

And all the Jews even now teach that the nameless God spake to Moses; whence the Spirit of prophecy, accusing them by Isaiah the prophet mentioned above, said, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel

* Thirlby conjectures that Justin here confused in his mind the histories of Moses and Jacob.

doth not know me, and my people do not understand."* And Jesus the Christ, because the Jews knew not what the Father was, and what the Son, in like manner accused them; and Himself said, "No one knoweth the Father, but the Son; nor the Son, but the Father, and they to whom the Son revealeth Him."† Now the Word of God is His Son, as we have before said. And He is called Angel and Apostle; for He declares whatever we ought to know, and is sent forth to declare whatever is revealed; as our Lord Himself says, "He that heareth me, heareth Him that sent me."‡ From the writings of Moses also this will be manifest; for thus it is written in them, "And the angel of God spake to Moses, in a flame of fire out of the bush, and said, I am that I am, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God of thy fathers; go down into Egypt, and bring forth my people."§ And if you wish to learn what follows, you can do so from the same writings; for it is impossible to relate the whole here. But so much is written for the sake of proving that Jesus the Christ is the son of God and His Apostle, being of old the Word, and appearing sometimes in the form of fire, and sometimes in the likeness of angels; but now, by the will of God, having become man for the human race, He endured all the sufferings which the devils instigated the senseless Jews to inflict upon Him; who, though they have it expressly affirmed in the writings of Moses, "And the angel of God spake to Moses in a flame of fire in a bush, and said, I am that I am, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," yet maintain that He who said this was the Father and creator of the universe. Whence also the Spirit of prophecy rebukes them and says, "Israel doth not know me, my people hath not understood me."‖ And again, Jesus, as we have already shown, while He was with them,

* Isa. i. 3. † Matt. xi. 27. ‡ Luke x. 16. § Ex. iii. 6. ‖ Isa. i. 3.

said, "No one knoweth the Father, but the Son; nor the Son, but the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal Him."* The Jews, accordingly, being throughout of opinion that it was the Father of the universe who spake to Moses, though He who spake to him was indeed the Son of God, who is called both Angel and Apostle, are justly charged, both by the Spirit of prophecy and by Christ Himself, with knowing neither the Father nor the Son. For they who affirm that the Son is the Father, are proved neither to have become acquainted with the Father, nor to know that the Father of the universe has a Son; who, also, being the first-begotten Word of God, is even God. And of old He appeared in the shape of fire and in the likeness of an angel to Moses and to the other prophets; but now in the times of your reign, having, as we before said, become man by a virgin, according to the counsel of the Father, for the salvation of those who believe on Him, He endured both to be set at nought and to suffer, that by dying and rising again He might conquer death. And that which was said out of the bush to Moses, "I am that I am, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and the God of your fathers,"† this signified that they, even though dead, are yet in existence, and are men belonging to Christ Himself. For they were the first of all men to busy themselves in the search after God; Abraham being the father of Isaac, and Isaac of Jacob, as Moses wrote.

CHAPTER XL.

FURTHER MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRUTH—ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

From what has been already said, you can understand how the devils, in imitation of what was said by Moses, asserted that Proserpine was the daughter of Jupiter, and in-

* Matt. xi. 27. † Ex. iii. 6.

stigated the people to set up an image of her under the name of Kore [Cora, *i. e.* the maiden or daughter] at the spring-heads. For, as we wrote above,* Moses said, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and unfurnished: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In imitation, therefore, of what is here said of the Spirit of God moving on the waters, they said that Proserpine [or Cora] was the daughter of Jupiter.† And in like manner also they craftily feigned that Minerva was the daughter of Jupiter, not by sexual union, but, knowing that God conceived and made the world by the Word, they say that Minerva is the first conception [ἔννοια]; which we consider to be very absurd, bringing forward the form of the conception in a female shape. And in like manner the actions of those others who are called sons of Jupiter sufficiently condemn them.

But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized [illuminated] person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation. Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water, and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the

* Chap. lix. † And therefore caused her to preside over the waters, as above.

people present express their assent by saying Amen. This word Amen answers in the Hebrew language "so be it." And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF THE EUCHARIST—WEEKLY WORSHIP OF THE CHRISTIANS—CONCLUSION.

And this food is called among us *Ευχαριστια** [the Eucharist], of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Savior, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so-likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them: that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said "This do ye in remembrance of me,† this is my body;" and that, after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, "This is my blood;" and gave it to them alone. Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same

*Literally "thanksgiving." See Matt. xxvi. 27. † Luke xxii. 19.

thing to be done. For, that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn.

And we afterwards continually remind each other of these things. And the wealthy among us help the needy; and we always keep together; and for all things wherewith we are supplied, we bless the Maker of all through His Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day called Sunday, all who lived in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thankgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each and a participation of that over which thanks have been given,* and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Savior on the same day rose from the dead. For he was crucified on the day before that of Saturn (Saturday); and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the

* Or, of the eucharistic elements.

Sun, having appeared to His apostles and disciples, He taught them these things, which we have submitted to you also for your consideration.

And if these things seem to you to be reasonable and true, honor them; but if they seem nonsensical, despise them as nonsense, and do not decree death against those who have done no wrong, as you would against enemies. For we forewarn you, that you shall not escape the coming judgment of God, if you continue in your injustice; and we ourselves will invite you to do that which is pleasing to God. And though from the letter of the greatest and most illustrious Emperor Adrian, your father, we could demand that you order judgment to be given as we have desired, yet we have made this appeal and explanation, not on the ground of Adrian's decision, but because we know that what we ask is just. And we have subjoined the copy of Adrian's epistle, that you may know that we are speaking truly about this. And the following is the copy:—

EPISTLE OF ADRIAN* IN BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS.

I have received the letter addressed to me by your predecessor Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man; and this communication I am unwilling to pass over in silence, lest innocent persons be disturbed, and occasion be given to the informers for practising villany. Accordingly, if the inhabitants of your province will so far sustain this petition of theirs as to accuse the Christians in some court of law, I do not prohibit them from doing so. But I will not suffer them to make use of mere entreaties and outcries. For it is far more just, if any one desires to make an accusation, that you give judgment upon it. If, therefore, any one makes the accusation, and furnishes proof that the

* Addressed to Minucius Fundanus.

said men do anything contrary to the laws, you shall adjudge punishments in proportion to the offenses. And this, by Hercules, you shall give special heed to, that if any man shall, through mere calumny, bring an accusation against any of these persons, you shall award to him more severe punishments in proportion to his wickedness.

EPISTLE OF ANTONINUS TO THE COMMON ASSEMBLY OF ASIA.

The Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Supreme Pontiff, in the fifteenth year of his tribuneship, consul for the third time, father of the fatherland, to the common assembly of Asia, greeting: I should have thought that the gods themselves would see to it that such offenders should not escape. For if they had the power, they themselves would much rather punish those who refuse to worship them; but it is you who bring trouble on these persons, and accuse as the opinion of Atheists, that which they hold, and lay to their charge certain other things which we are unable to prove. But it would be advantageous to them that they should be taught to die for that of which they are accused, and they conquer you by being lavish of their lives rather than yield that obedience which you require of them. And regarding the earthquakes which have already happened and are now occurring, it is not seemly that you remind us of them, losing heart whenever they occur, and thus set your conduct in contrast with that of these men; for they have much greater confidence towards God than you yourselves have. And you, indeed, seem at such times to ignore the gods, and you neglect the temples, and make no recognition of the worship of God. And hence you are jealous of those who do serve Him, and persecute them to death. Con-

cerning such persons, some others also of the governors of provinces wrote to my most divine father; to whom he replied that they should not at all disturb such persons, unless they were found to be attempting anything against the Roman government. And to myself many have sent intimations regarding such persons, to whom I also replied in pursuance of my father's judgment. But if any one has a matter to bring against any person of this class merely as such a person,* let the accused be acquitted of the charge, even though he should be found to be such a one; but let the accuser be amenable to justice.

EPISTLE OF MARCUS AURELIUS TO THE SENATE, IN WHICH HE TESTIFIES THAT THE CHRISTIANS WERE THE CAUSE OF HIS VICTORY.

The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, to the people of Rome, and to the sacred senate, greeting: I explained to you my grand design, and what advantages I gained on the confines of Germany, with much labor and suffering, in consequence of the circumstance that I was surrounded by the enemy; I myself being shut up in Carnuntum by seventy-four cohorts, nine miles off. And the enemy being at hand, the scouts pointed out to us, and our general Pompianus showed us that there was close on us a mass of a mixed multitude of 977,000 men, which indeed we saw; and I was shut up by this vast host, having with me only a battalion composed of the first, tenth, double and marine legions. Having then examined my own position, and my host, with respect to the vast mass of barbarians and of the enemy, I quickly betook myself to pray to the gods of the country.

* This is, if any one accuses a Christian merely on the ground of his being a Christian.

But being disregarded by them, I summoned those who among us go by the name of Christians. And having made inquiry, I discovered a great number and vast host of them, and raged against them, which was by no means becoming; for afterwards I learned their power. Wherefore they began the battle, not by preparing weapons, nor arms, nor bugles; for such preparation is hateful to them, on account of the God they bear about in their conscience. Therefore it is probable that those whom we suppose to be Atheists, have God as their ruling power entrenched in their conscience. For having cast themselves on the ground, they prayed not only for me, but also for the whole army as it stood, that they might be delivered from the present thirst and famine. For during five days we had got no water, because there was none; for we were in the heart of Germany, and in the enemy's territory. And simultaneously with them casting themselves on the ground, and praying to God (a God of whom I am ignorant), water poured from heaven, upon us most refreshingly cool, but upon the enemies of Rome a withering* hail. And immediately we recognized the presence of God following on the prayer—a God unconquerable and indestructible. Founding upon this, then, let us pardon such as are Christians, lest they pray for and obtain such a weapon against ourselves. And I counsel that no such person be accused on the ground of his being a Christian. But if any one be found laying to the charge of a Christian that he is a Christian, I desire that it be made manifest that he who is accused as a Christian, and acknowledges that he is one, is accused of nothing else than only this, that he is a Christian; but that he who arraigns him be burned alive. And I further desire that he who is intrusted with the government of the province shall not compel the Christian, who confesses and

* Literally "fiery."

certifies such a matter, to retract; neither shall he commit him. And I desire that these things be confirmed by a decree of the senate. And I command this my edict to be published in the Forum of Trajan, in order that it may be read. The prefect Vitrasius Pollio will see that it be transmitted to all the provinces round about, and that no one who wishes to make use of or to possess it be hindered from obtaining a copy from the document I now publish.

THE SECOND APOLOGY OF JUSTIN

FOR THE CHRISTIANS,

ADDRESSED TO THE ROMAN SENATE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Romans, the things which have recently* happened in your city under Urbicus, and the things which are likewise being every-where unreasonably done by the governors, have compelled me to frame this composition for your sakes, who are men of like passions, and brethren, though ye know it not, and though ye be unwilling to acknowledge it on account of you glorying in what you esteem dignities. For every-where, whoever is corrected by father, or neighbor, or child, or friend, or brother, or husband, or wife, for a fault, for being hard to move, for loving pleasure and being hard to urge to what is right (except those who have been persuaded that the unjust and intemperate shall be punished in eternal fire, but that the virtuous and those who lived like Christ shall dwell with God in a state that is free from suffering—we mean, those who have become Christians), and the evil demons, who hate us, and who keep such men as these subject to themselves, and serving them in the capacity of judges, incite them as rulers actuated by evil spirits, to put us to death. But that the cause of all that has taken place under Urbicus may become quite plain to you, I will relate what has been done.

* Literally, "both yesterday and the day before."

CHAPTER II.

URBICUS CONDEMNS THE CHRISTIANS TO DEATH.

A certain woman lived with an intemperate husband; she herself, too, having formerly been intemperate. But when she came to the knowledge of the teachings of Christ she became sober-minded, and endeavored to persuade her husband likewise to be temperate, citing the teaching of Christ, and assuring him that there shall be punishment in eternal fire inflicted upon those who do not live temperately and conformably to right reason. But he, continuing the same excesses, alienated his wife from him by his actions. For she, considering it wicked to live any longer as a wife with a husband who sought in every way means of indulging in pleasure contrary to the law of nature, and in violation of what is right, wished to be divorced from him. And when she was over-persuaded by her friends, who advised her still to continue with him, in the idea that some time or other her husband might give hope of amendment, she did violence to her own feelings and remained with him. But when her husband had gone into Alexandria, and was reported to be conducting himself worse than ever, she—that she might not, by continuing in matrimonial connection with him, and by sharing his table and his bed, become a partaker also in his wickedness and impieties—gave him what you call a bill of divorce, and was separated from him. But this noble husband of hers—while he ought to have been rejoicing that those actions which formerly she unhesitatingly committed with the servants and hirelings, when she delighted in drunkenness and every vice, she had now given up, and desired that he, too, should give up the same—when she had gone from him without his desire, brought an accusation against her, affirming that she was a Christian. And she presented a paper to thee, the emperor,

requesting that first she be permitted to arrange her affairs and afterwards to make her defense against the accusation, when her affairs were set in order. And this you granted. And her quondam husband, since he was now no longer able to prosecute her, directed his assaults against a man, Ptolemæus, whom Urbicus punished, and who had been her teacher in the Christian doctrines. And this he did in the following way. He persuaded a centurion—who had cast Ptolemæus into prison, and who was friendly to himself—to take Ptolemæus and interrogate him on this sole point: whether he were a Christian? And Ptolemæus, being a lover of truth, and not of a deceitful or false disposition, when he confessed himself to be a Christian, was bound by the centurion, and for a long time punished in the prison. And, at last, when the man* came to Urbicus, he was asked this one question only: whether he was a Christian? And again, being conscious of his duty, and the nobility of it through the teaching of Christ, he confessed his discipleship in the divine virtue. For he who denies anything, either denies it because he condemns the thing itself, or he shrinks from confession because he is conscious of his own unworthiness or alienation from it; neither of which cases is that of the true Christian. And when Urbicus ordered him to be led away to punishment one Lucius, who was also himself a Christian, seeing the unreasonable judgment that had thus been given, said to Urbicus: "What is the ground of this judgment? Why have you punished this man, not as an adulterer, nor fornicator, nor murderer, nor thief, nor robber, nor convicted of any crime at all, but who has only confessed that he is called by the name of Christian? This judgment of yours, O Urbicus, does not become the Emperor Pius, nor the philosopher, the son of Cæsar, nor the sacred

* *i.e.* Ptolemæus.

senate."* And he said nothing else in answer to Lucius than this: "You also seem to me to be such an one." And when Lucius answered, "Most certainly I am," he again ordered him also to be led away. And he professed his thanks, knowing that he was delivered from such wicked rulers, and was going to the Father and King of the heavens. And still a third having come forward, was condemned to be punished.

CHAPTER III.

JUSTIN ACQUSES CRESCENS OF IGNORANT PREJUDICE AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS —WHY THE CHRISTIANS DO NOT KILL THEMSELVES—HOW THE ANGELS TRANSGRESSED.

I too, therefore, expect to be plotted against and fixed to the stake, by some of those I have named, or perhaps by Crescens, that lover of bravado and boasting; for the man is not worthy of the name of philosopher who publicly bears witness against us in matters which he does not understand, saying that the Christians are Atheists and impious, and doing so to win favor with the deluded mob, and to please them. For if he assails us without having read the teachings of Christ, he is thoroughly depraved, and far worse than the illiterate, who often refrain from discussing or bearing false witness about matters they do not understand. Or, if he has read them and does not understand the majesty that is in them, or, understanding it, acts thus that he may not be suspected of being such [a Christian], he is far more base and thoroughly depraved, being conquered by illiberal and unreasonable opinion and fear. For I would have you to know that I proposed to him certain questions on this subject, and interrogated him, and found most convincingly that he, in truth, knows nothing. And

* On this passage, see Donaldson's *Critical History, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 79.

to prove that I speak the truth, I am ready, if these disputations have not been reported to you, to conduct them again in your presence. And this would be an act worthy of a prince. But if my questions and his answers have been made known to you, you are already aware that he is acquainted with none of our matters; or, if he is acquainted with them, but, through fear of those who might hear him, does not dare to speak out, like Socrates, he proves himself, as I said before, no philosopher, but an opinionative man; at least he does not regard that Socratic, and most admirable saying: "But a man must in nowise be honored before the truth."* But it is impossible for a Cynic, who makes indifference his end, to know any good but indifference.

But lest some one say to us, "Go then all of you and kill yourselves, and pass even now to God, and do not trouble us," I will tell you why we do not so, but why, when examined, we fearlessly confess. We have been taught that God did not make the world aimlessly, but for the sake of the human race; and we have before stated that He takes pleasure in those who imitate His properties, and is displeased with those that embrace what is worthless either in word or deed. If, then, we all kill ourselves, we shall become the cause, as far as in us lies, why no one should be born, or instructed in the divine doctrines, or even why the human race should not exist; and we shall, if we so act, be ourselves acting in opposition to the will of God. But when we are examined, we make no denial, because we are not conscious of any evil, but count it impious not to speak the truth in all things, which also we know is pleasing to God, and because we are also now very desirous to deliver you from an unjust prejudice.

But if this idea take possession of some one, that if we acknowledge God as our helper, we should not, as we say,

* See Plato, *Rep.* p. 595.

be oppressed and persecuted by the wicked; this too, I will solve. God, when He had made the whole world, and subjected things earthly to man, and arranged the heavenly elements for the increase of fruits and rotation of the seasons, and appointed this divine law—for these things also He evidently made for man—committed the care of men and of all things under heaven to angels whom He appointed over them. But the angels transgressed this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begat children who are those that are called demons; and besides, they afterwards subdued the human race to themselves, partly by magical writings, and partly by fears and the punishments they occasioned, and partly by teaching them to offer sacrifices, and incense, and libations, of which things they stood in need after they were enslaved by lustful passions; and among men they sowed murders, wars, adulteries, intemperate deeds, and all wickedness. Whence also the poets and mythologists, not knowing that it was the angels and those demons who had been begotten by them that did these things to men, and women, and cities, and nations, which they related, ascribed them to God Himself, and to those who were accounted to be His very offspring, and to the offspring of those who were called His brothers, Neptune and Pluto, and to the children again of these their offspring. For whatever name each of the angels had given to himself and his children, by that name they called them.

CHAPTER IV.

NAMES OF GOD AND OF CHRIST, THEIR MEANING AND POWER—THE WORLD PRESERVED FOR THE SAKE OF CHRISTIANS—MAN'S RESPONSIBILITY—ALL HAVE BEEN HATED IN WHOM THE WORD HAS DWELT.

But to the Father of all, who is unbegotten, there is no name given. For by whatever name He be called, He has as His elder the person who gives Him the name. But these

words, Father, and God, and Creator, and Lord, and Master, are not names, but appellations derived from His good deeds and functions. And His Son, who alone is properly called Son, the Word, who also was with Him and was begotten before the works, when at first He created and arranged all things by Him, is called Christ in reference to His being annointed and God's ordering all things through Him; this name itself also containing an unknown significance; as also the appellation "God" is not a name, but an opinion implanted in the nature of men of a thing that can hardly be explained. But "Jesus," His name as man and Savior, has also significance. For He was made man also, as we before said, having been conceived according to the will of God the Father, for the sake of believing men, and for the destruction of the demons. And now you can learn this from what is under your own observation. For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city, many of our Christian men exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing devils out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the other exorcists, and those who use incantations and drugs.

Wherefore God delays causing the confusion and destruction of the whole world, by which the wicked angels and demons and men shall cease to exist, because of the seed of the Christians, who know that they are the cause of preservation in nature.* Since, if it were not so, it would not have been possible for you to do these things, and to be impelled by evil spirits; but the fire of judgment would descend and utterly dissolve all things, even as formerly the flood left no one but him only with his family

* This is Dr. Donaldson's rendering of a clause on which the editors differ both as to reading and rendering.

who is by us called Noah, and by you Deucalion, from whom again such vast numbers have sprung, some of them evil and others good. For so we say that there will be the conflagration, but not as the Stoics, according to their doctrine of all things being changed into one another, which seems most degrading. But neither do we affirm that it is by fate that men do what they do, or suffer what they suffer, but that each man by free choice acts rightly or sins; and that it is by the influence of the wicked demons that earnest men, such as Socrates and the like, suffer persecution and are in bonds, while Sardanapalus, Epicurus, and the like, seem to be blessed in abundance and glory. The Stoics, not observing this, maintained that all things take place according to the neccessity of fate. But since God in the beginning made the race of angels and men with free will, they will justly suffer in eternal fire the punishment of whatever sins they have committed. And this is the nature of all that is made, to be capable of vice and virtue. For neither would any of them be praiseworthy unless there were power to turn to both [virtue and vice]. And this also is shown by those men every-where who have made laws and philosophized according to right reason, by their prescribing to do some things and refrain from others. Even the Stoic philosophers, in their doctrine of morals, steadily honor the same things, so that it is evident that they are not very felicitous in what they say about principles and incorporeal things. For if they say that human actions come to pass by fate, they will maintain either that God is nothing else than the things which are ever turning, and altering, and dissolving into the same things, and will appear to have had a comprehension only of things that are destructible, and to have looked on God Himself as emerging both in part and in whole in every wickedness; or that neither vice nor virtue is anything; which is contrary to every sound idea, reason, and sense.

And those of the Stoic school—since, so ;ar as their moral teaching went, they were admirable, as were also the poets in some particulars, on account of the seed of reason [the Logos] implanted in every race of men—were, we know, hated and put to death—Heraclitus for instance, and, among those of our own time, Musonius and others. For, as we intimated, the devils have always effected, that all those who anyhow live a reasonable and earnest life, and shun vice, be hated. And it is nothing wonderful if the devils are proved to cause those to be much worse hated who live not according to a part only of the word diffused [among men], but by the knowledge and contemplation of the whole Word, which is Christ. And they, having been shut up in eternal fire, shall suffer their just punishment and penalty. For if they are even now overthrown by men through the name of Jesus Christ, this is an intimation of the punishment in eternal fire which is to be inflicted on themselves and those who serve them. For thus did both all the prophets foretell, and our own teacher Jesus teach.

CHAPTER V.

ETERNAL PUNISHMENT NOT A MERE THREAT—CHRIST COMPARED WITH SOCRATES—HOW CHRISTIANS VIEW DEATH—CHRISTIANS PROVED INNOCENT BY THEIR CONTEMPT OF DEATH.

And that no one may say what is said by those who are deemed philosophers, that our assertions that the wicked are punished in eternal fire are big words and bugbears, and that we wish men to live virtuously through fear, and not because such a life is good and pleasant; I will briefly reply to this, that if this be not so, God does not exist; or, if He exist, He cares not for men, and neither virtue nor vice is anything, and, as we said before, lawgivers unjustly punish those who transgress good commandments. But since these

are not unjust, and their Father teaches them by the word to do the same things as Himself, they who agree with them are not unjust. And if one object that the laws of men are diverse, and say that with some, one thing is considered good, another evil, while with others what seemed bad to the former is esteemed good, and what seemed good is esteemed bad, let him listen to what we say to this. We know that the wicked angels appointed laws conformable to their own wickedness, in which the men who are like them delight; and the right Reason,* when He came, proved that not all opinions nor all doctrines are good, but that some are evil, while others are good. Wherefore, I will declare the same and similar things to such men as these, and if need be, they shall be spoken of more at large. But at present I return to the subject.

Our doctrines, then, appear to be greater than all human teaching; because Christ, who appeared for our sakes, became the whole rational being, both body, and reason, and soul. For whatever either lawgivers or philosophers uttered well, they elaborated by finding and contemplating some part of the Word. But since they did not know the whole of the Word, which is Christ, they often contradicted themselves. And those who by human birth were more ancient than Christ, when they attempted to consider and prove things by reason, were brought before the tribunals as impious persons and busy-bodies. And Socrates, who was more zealous in this direction than all of them, was accused of the very same crimes as ourselves. For they said that he was introducing new divinities, and did not consider those to be gods whom the state recognized. But he cast out from the state both Homer† and the rest of the poets and taught men to reject the wicked demons and those who

* These words can be taken of the Logos as well as of the right reason diffused among men by Him.

† Plato, *Rep.* x. c. i. p. 595.

did the things which the poets related; and he exhorted them to become acquainted with the God who was to them unknown, by means of the investigation of reason, saying, "That it is neither easy to find the Father and Maker of all, nor, having found Him, is it safe to declare Him to all." * But these things our Christ did through His own power. For no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for this doctrine, but in Christ, who was partially known even by Socrates (for He was and is the Word who is in every man, and who foretold the things that were to come to pass both through the prophets and in His own person when He was made of like passions, and taught these things), not only philosophers and scholars believed, but also artisans and people entirely uneducated, despising both glory, and fear, and death; since He is a power of the ineffable Father, and not the mere instrument of human reason.

But neither should we be put to death, nor would wicked men and devils be more powerful than we, were not death a debt due by every man that is born. Wherefore we give thanks when we pay this debt. And we judge it right and opportune to tell here, for the sake of Crescens and those who rave as he does, what is related by Xenophon. Hercules, says Xenophon, coming to a place where three ways met, found Virtue and Vice, who appeared to him in the form of women: Vice, in a luxurious dress, and with a seductive expression rendered blooming by such ornaments, and her eyes of a quickly melting tenderness, said to Hercules that if he would follow her, she would always enable him to pass his life in pleasure and adorned with the most graceful ornaments, such as were then upon her own person; and Virtue, who was of squalid look and dress, said, But if you obey me, you shall adorn yourself not with ornament nor

* Plat. *Timæus*, p. 28, C. (but "possible," and not "safe," is the word used by Plato).

beauty that passes away and perishes, but with everlasting and precious graces. And we are persuaded that every one who flees those things that seem to be good, and follows hard after what are reckoned difficult and strange, enters into blessedness. For Vice, when by imitation of what is incorruptible (for what is really incorruptible she neither has nor can produce) she has thrown around her own actions, as a disguise, the properties of Virtue, and qualities which are really excellent, leads captive earthly-minded men, attaching to Virtue her own evil properties. But those who understand the excellences which belong to that which is real, are also uncorrupt in virtue. And this every sensible person ought to think both of Christians and of the athletes, and of those who did what the poets relate of the so-called gods, concluding as much from our contempt of death, even when it could be escaped.

For I myself, too, when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure. For what sensual or intemperate man, or who that counts it good to feast on human flesh,* could welcome death that he might be deprived of his enjoyments, and would not rather continue always the present life, and attempt to escape the observation of the rulers; and much less would he denounce himself when the consequence would be death? This also the wicked demons have now caused to be done by evil men. For having put some to death on account of the accusations falsely brought against us, they also dragged to the torture our domestics, either children or weak women, and by dreadful torments forced them to admit those fabulous actions which they themselves openly perpetrate; about which we are the less con-

* Alluding to the common accusation against the Christians.

cerned, because none of these actions are really ours, and we have the unbegotten and ineffable God as witness both of our thoughts and deeds. For why did we not even publicly profess that these were the things which we esteemed good, and prove that these are the divine philosophy, saying that the mysteries of Saturn are performed when we slay a man, and that when we drink our fill of blood, as it is said we do, we are doing what you do before that idol you honor, and on which you sprinkle the blood not only of irrational animals, but also of men, making a libation of the blood of the slain by the hand of the most illustrious and noble man among you? And imitating Jupiter and the other gods in sodomy and shameless intercourse with women, might we not bring as our apology the writings of Epicurus and the poets? But because we persuade men to avoid such instruction, and all who practise them and imitate such examples, as now in this discourse we have striven to persuade you, we are assailed in every kind of way. But we are not concerned, since we know that God is a just observer of all. But would that even now some one would mount a lofty rostrum, and shout with a loud voice,* "Be ashamed, be ashamed, ye who charge the guiltless with those deeds which yourselves openly commit, and ascribe things which apply to yourselves and to your gods to those who have not even the slightest sympathy with them. Be ye converted; become wise."

CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE WORD HAS BEEN IN ALL MEN—JUSTIN PRAYS THAT THIS APPEAL BE PUBLISHED—CONCLUSION.

For I myself, when I discovered the wicked disguise which the evil spirits had thrown around the divine doctrines

* Literally, "with a tragic voice,"—the loud voice in which the Greek tragedies were recited through the mask.

of the Christians, to turn aside others from joining them, laughed both at those who framed these falsehoods, and at the disguise itself, and at popular opinion; and I confess that I both boast and with all my strength strive to be found a Christian; not because the teachings of Plato are different from those of Christ, but because they are not in all respects similar, as neither are those of the others, stoics, and poets, and historians. For each man spoke well in proportion to the share he had of the spermatic word,* seeing what was related to it. But they who contradict themselves on the more important points appear not to have possessed the heavenly† wisdom, and the knowledge which cannot be spoken against. Whatever things were rightly said among all men, are the property of us Christians. For next to God, we worship and love the Word who is from the Unbegotten and Ineffable God, since also He became man for our sakes, that, becoming a partaker of our sufferings, He might also bring us healing. For all the writers were able to see realities darkly through the sowing of the implanted word that was in them. For the seed and imitation imparted according to capacity is one thing, and quite another is the thing itself, of which there is the participation and imitation according to the grace which is from Him.

And we therefore pray you to publish this little book, appending what you think right, that our opinions may be known to others, and that these persons may have a fair chance of being freed from erroneous notions and ignorance of good, who by their own fault are become subject to punishment; that so these things may be published to men, because it is in the nature of man to know good and evil; and by their condemning us, whom they do not understand, for actions which they say are wicked, and by delighting in the gods who did such things, and even now require

* The word disseminated among men. † Literally, "dimly seen at a distance."

similar actions from men, and by inflicting on us death or bonds or some other such punishment, as if we were guilty of these things, they condemn themselves, so that there is no need of other judges.

And I despised the wicked and deceitful doctrine of Simon of my own nation. And if you give this book your authority, we will expose him before all, that, if possible, they may be converted. For this end alone did we compose this treatise. And our doctrines are not shameful, according to a sober judgment, but are indeed more lofty than all human philosophy; and if not so, they are at least unlike the doctrines of the Sotadists, and Philænidians, and Dancers, and Epicureans, and such other teachings of the poets, which all are allowed to acquaint themselves with, both as acted and as written. And henceforth we shall be silent, having done as much as we could, and having added the prayer that all men everywhere may be counted worthy of the truth. And would that you also, in a manner becoming piety and philosophy, would for your own sakes judge justly!

THE END.

Senior Assistant

Senior Novitiate

Senior Novitiate

Senior Novitiate